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INTERNATIONAL

PROBLEMATIC STATUS OF 'FOREIGNERS' IN SOVIET LAW ANALYZED

Leningrad VESTNIK LENINGRADSKOGO UNIVERSITETA. EKONOMIKA. FILOSOFIYA. PRAVO
in Russian No 11, Vyp 2, Jun 82 pp 55-61

Article by L.N. Galenskaya: The Concept and Conditions of the Legal
Status of Foreigners:¹

Text As a rule a state has residing within its territory, in addition to its own citizens, a category of natural persons who are called foreign. In normative acts and the legal literature the concept of a "foreigner" is used in two senses--a broad sense and a narrow sense. In the broad sense any person who does not possess citizenship of the given state is considered to be a foreigner. And it is in this sense that the term is used in the Bulgarian law of 22 November 1972 concerning the residence of foreigners in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.¹

In the narrow sense this concept presupposes not only the absence of citizenship in the corresponding state on the part of a particular person, but also the possession by that person of citizenship in another state.²

In Soviet legislation there is no definition of the concept of the "foreigner."

In describing this concept, authors usually use as well the criteria of residence within the territory of the state. For example, the textbook "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [International Law], under the editorship of Professor G.I. Tunkin, says: "Any person who is within the territory of a given state but who is not a citizen of it and who holds citizenship in another state is called a foreigner."³ In our view, an interpretation of this kind is correct only when the discussion concerns the population of a given country because it is then essential to establish categories of persons residing within its territory (or located within it); however, it is inadequate when the legal status of foreigners is being studied. The problem is that a number of states' laws have an extra-territorial effect, i.e., in accordance with their statutes, people who reside abroad can enjoy certain rights. In particular, laws in the area of inheritance rights, the right to acquire citizenship, adoption, etc. are of this nature. In these cases an indication of residence (or presence) within the territory of the given state by a specific person or category of persons will narrow in an unjustified manner the concept under consideration and will not meet the requirements of the law.

In accordance with the above, the following would seem to be a more precise definition: a person who is not a citizen of a given state and who holds nationality of another state or does not hold nationality in any state is a foreigner. It is essential to note that in the present article only natural persons, regardless of the purposes and length of the sojourn within the territory of the state, are understood to be foreigners.

Foreigners who are located in a given country, do not possess an identical number of rights and obligations. For example, diplomatic representatives have diplomatic immunity and privileges and are virtually removed from the effect of the laws in the country of sojourn. Other categories of foreigners such as states' consular representatives, officials of international organizations, states' representatives at international conferences, etc. also possess immunities and privileges. Persons of this kind can be segregated into a separate group with special legal status. Their legal position will not be examined in this article.

Usually, however, foreigners are not excepted from the effect of the legislation in the state of sojourn; they are endowed with certain rights and freedoms. The aggregate of the rights and obligations of foreigners is called the legal regime or position (status). The term "regime" (or status) is not widely used in international law. It is used in the above indicated sense by A.I. Mikul'shin, S.V. Chernichenko, M. Genovskiy and others.⁴ Along with this term, others can also be found. For example, G. Schwarzenberger talks about "clauses, while M. Sukiyasovich uses the term "treatment."⁵

In the opinion of some authors, legal status is established by internal legislation and the norms of international law (international agreements), and in the opinion of other authors it is established only by internal legislation. For example, V.I. Lisovskiy writes that the legal position of foreigners is determined by the law of the country of sojourn and the enactments of international agreements,⁶ while S.V. Chernichenko thinks that the norms of these agreements must only be taken into account by the state in establishing the conditions for foreigners, and these conditions are directly regulated by internal law.⁷ In our view, the latter viewpoint does not reflect the actual state of affairs.

In establishing the rights and obligations of foreigners, every state publishes the appropriate normative acts. These can be acts which are particularly devoted only to the rights of foreigners,⁸ general acts in which particular acts, chapters or sections regulate these rights,⁹ and finally, they can be documents, containing norms which apply to an equal degree to citizens of the state and to foreigners.¹⁰

It is characteristic of Soviet legislation that many laws contain a statute stipulating that the norms of international agreements which contain regulations which are different from those in the corresponding law, have preferential force.¹¹ However, the Law Concerning the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the USSR states (Part 3, Article 2): "The legal position of foreign citizens in the USSR can be determined as

well on the basis of USSR international agreements.¹² This means that in these cases the norms of international agreements regulate directly issues of foreigners' legal position.

Nor is the doctrine unanimous concerning the determination of the conditions of foreigners' status. Inasmuch as every state itself establishes the legal status of this category of persons, it is natural that these conditions varies in different states in terms of numbers. Nonetheless, the legal regulation of these conditions also has similar features which make it possible to distinguish the following three types of legal status categories for foreigners: national conditions, i.e., providing foreigners with the rights and obligations which its own citizens have;¹³ special conditions, granting to this category of persons certain rights in terms of legislation or international agreements; most-favored (preferential) conditions, i.e., granting to foreign citizens rights which citizens of the most favored nation enjoy or will enjoy. We shall consider each of these.

M.M. Boguslavskiy, M. Genovskiy and others talk about the national condition as an independent form of the legal status of foreigners.¹⁴ The existence of a national condition (or category) as one of the forms of legal status for foreigners is not disputed in the legal literature. It should be noted that there is a certain conditionality in the very name of this type of category because foreigners do not have the same number of rights and obligations as do the state's own citizens.¹⁵ Essentially, the name for this category should be understood only in the following way: when this category is specified, foreigners are equated only in a given respect to their own citizens.¹⁶ As a rule, equalization of this kind is carried out in the area of civil rights.

Granting to foreigners the conditions of the national category is stipulated in the internal legislation of the state as well as in internatioanl agreements. For example, Part 1, Article 33 of the Foundations of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics Concerning Marriage and Family establishes that "dissolution of marriages between Soviet citizens and foreign citizens, as well as marriages of foreign citizens between themselves in the USSR takes place according to Soviet legislation." International agreements usually contain norms concerning the national category conditions for foreigners in conformity with the subject being regulated by this agreement. Norms of these kind are included in multilateral agreements, as well as in bilateral ones.

The Paris Convention on the Protection of Industrial Property (1883) can serve as an example of the granting to foreigners the conditions of the national category on the basis of a multilateral agreement. Article 1 of the Convention says: With regard to the protection of industrial property, the citizens of every country of the Union enjoy in all the other countries of the Union the same advantages which are granted at the present time or will be granted subsequently by the appropriate laws to their own citizens, without thereby infringing on the rights which are especially stipulated by the present Convention."¹⁷

The norms concerning the national status category are, as a rule, contained in such bilateral agreements as mutual assistance treaties, commercial shipping and copyright treaties, etc. Usually they stipulate the sphere of action for this status. For example, Article 1 of the 19 February 1975 Treaty Concerning Mutual Assistance on Citizenship, Family and Criminal Matters between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria grants citizens of both countries national status with regard to the legal protection of their personal and property rights, while Article 31 stipulates it with regard to the ability to compose and revoke a will disposing of property located within the territory of the other Agreeing Party, and of the rights which must be implemented there, as well as in regard to the ability to acquire by inheritance this property and these rights.¹⁸

The legislative and treaty experience of states shows that the latter usually stipulate clearly in precisely which area and with regard to which rights they are equating foreigners with their own citizens. But if one takes into account the fact that this equalization is produced by the treaties only with regard to citizens of contracting states, then there is no occasion to talk about the national status category in general, as applied to the entire legal status. It seems that the national status category is specific in that it does not describe the legal position of foreigners in any given sphere; it is more accurate to apply it only with regard to certain categories of rights. The national status category has a limited sphere of action.

In shifting to a definition of the most favored status, it is essential to note that in the legal literature and in the normative acts one can find such terms as the most favored status, a proviso concerning most favored status, the principle of most-favored status. The formulations of international treaties usually look like this:

- 1) "The parties will grant to each other most favored nation status in all issues concerning trade, as well as other types of economic ties between both states";¹⁹
- 2) "The parties will grant each other a status which is no less favorable than that which is granted to any third country...";²⁰
- 3) "...citizens and juridical persons ... will in accordance with the law enjoy with regard to protection of their person and property the same status as is granted to citizens and juridical persons of any other state...".²¹

These formulations make it possible to draw several conclusions. In the first place, regardless of the terminology which is used, most favored status does not establish a specific number or volume of rights for foreign citizens. It stipulates only an equalization of the rights of citizens in the contracting state in a specific area with the rights of citizens in "another state," "in any other state," or "in any third state." The description of most-favored status provided by A.I. Mikul'shin is very precise: "The basic purpose of most-favored status is to equalize

foreigners among themselves within a specific sphere of rights or, in other words, to prevent discrimination."²²

In the second place, it flows logically from the first conclusion that if by the legal status one understands the aggregate of rights and obligations of foreigners, then most-favored status cannot be included under types of legal status categories.²³

For a number of years a UN Committee on International Law, which is working out draft articles, which are supposed to be a supplement to the Vienna Convention on Treaty Rights, has been occupied with the question of most favored status. Without dwelling in detail on the summary reports presented by the special researcher, E. Ushtor, nonetheless, attention should be directed to the fact that on the Committee's agenda the question was entitled "Clause Concerning the Most Favored Nation." E. Ushtor does not consider the condition of being "most favored" to be a status; it is only a proviso, a special condition which is included in treaties.²⁴ The quality of the proviso on the most-favored condition was also recognized by the UN International Court.²⁵

In Soviet legal literature the opinion has been expressed that the most favored condition represents a method of establishing a national status for foreigners, because the latter is the most favorable.²⁶ It is difficult to agree with this point of view. By including in a treaty this proviso, the state is not granting to foreigners the status of its own citizens; it is granting instead the rights which are enjoyed by citizens of third states. These same rights can differ substantially from the rights of its own citizens in the respective area (for example, customs rates, and duties, etc.). That which has been said is indirectly confirmed by the presence within the treaties of provisions which limit the proviso's sphere of application with regard to advantages and benefits which are granted to neighboring countries, as well as to countries of economic alliances, the members of which are participants in the treaty, etc. For example, Article 6, Point 2 of the 16 December 1975 Agreement Between the USSR and Greece Concerning Commercial Shipping establishes that: "The provisions of Point 1 of the present article do not extend to a) the advantages which arise from a customs union of any kind of which each of the Contracting Parties is or may become a member; b) to the advantages which each of the Contracting Parties has granted or will grant to its neighboring countries."²⁷

We shall move on to consider the special status category for foreigners. It should be noted that in the legal literature certain authors deny in general the existence of this category,²⁸ while others, in recognizing it, understand its content differently. For example, M. Potochnyy writes that the special status exists in those cases in which the state establishes the rights and obligations of foreigners by means of special orders, and these rights and obligations differ from those which are granted to its own citizens.²⁹ A.I. Mikul'shin defines the special status as the

"aggregate of the norms which regulate the rights and obligations with which only foreigners in the state of sojourn are endowed."³⁰ N.T. Blatova sees its content in the granting "to foreigners the special rights which are most frequently established in the manner of a treaty (for example, the personnel of the U.S. armed forces within the territory of foreign states)."³¹

From the definitions which have been cited it follows that in the one case it is the possession by foreigners of special rights which the state's own citizens do not possess which is being talked about, while in the other case, it is the existence of special groups of foreigners which is at issue. It has already been mentioned in the literature that one is not justified in characterizing the special status through the existence of special groups of foreigners who possess privileges and immunities.³² However, the first of the cited viewpoints is not beyond reproach either. Its inadequacy is an excessively narrow definition of the content of this type of status category, a definition which makes it possible to talk about the rights of foreigners only in certain areas of legal regulation.

A consideration of the problem of legal status categories for foreigners would be incomplete if note was not taken of references encountered in the literature to other categories of this status. For example, S. V. Isakovich writes about a privileged status, in which foreigners are granted broader rights than the state's own citizens,³³ and P.I. Savitskiy writes about a discriminatory status, in which foreigners are typically deprived of the elementary civil and labor rights, and the norms of social legislation are not extended to them.³⁴ It seems, however, that this kind of status does not exist. In the first place, foreigners are not usually endowed with more rights and freedoms than the state's own citizens. The views expressed in the bourgeois literature concerning the need to endow foreign citizens with special rights³⁵ are usually substantiated with reference to the right of the home state to protect its citizens which are located abroad and by their very essence they mean interference in the internal affairs of other states. Even if the state endows foreigners with certain supplemental rights in a certain area of legal regulation, this is done, as a rule, so that there is a real opportunity to make use of a certain right (in the USSR, for example, foreigners are granted the right to move inherited sums abroad), to fulfil official duties, etc. In the second place, any discrimination represents a violation of the law, and as a legal category, that is, as a legal status category, it cannot be considered.

Thus, only a special status characterizes the legal position of foreigners in a country in general. The national status category is granted to these persons only in certain areas of legal regulation, and the most-favored condition is not a type of legal status category for foreigners.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the text see: Narodnaya Respublika Bolgariya, "Konstitutsiya i zakonodatel'nyye akty" [Constitution and Legislative Acts], Moscow, 1981, pp 148-156; See also M. Genovski, "Osnovi na mezhdunarodnoto pravo" [Foundations of International Law], Sofiya, 1969, p 144; Ch. Rousseau, "Droit international public," Paris, 1963, pp 224-225.
2. "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [International Law], under the editorship of Professor G.I. Turkin, Moscow, 1974, p 226; "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," under the editorship of Professor G.V. Ignatenko and D.D. Ostapenko, Moscow, 1973, p 189; "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," under the editorship of Professor I.I. Lukashuk and Docent V.A. Vilenko, Kiev, 1971, p 102; "Kurs mezhdunarodnogo prava" [Course of International Law], Moscow, 1967, Vol 3, p 90; "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," under the editorship of Ye. A. Korovin, Moscow, 1951, p 238.
3. "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," p 226.
4. A.I. Mikul'shin, "O ponyatii i vidakh rezhimov inostrantsev" [On the Concept and Forms of Status Conditions for Foreigners] in the book "Sovetskiy yezhegodnik mezhdunarodnogo prava" [Soviet Yearbook of International Law 1972], Moscow, 1974, p 181; S.V. Chernichenko, "Lichnost' i mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [The Individual and International Law], Moscow, 1974, p 83; N.S. Vitruk, "Osnovy teorii pravovogo polozheniya lichnosti v sotsialisticheskem obshchestve" [Theoretical Foundations of the Legal Position of the Individual in Socialist Society], Moscow, 1979, pp 162-163; M. Genovskiy, "Ukaz. soch.," p 145.
5. A. Schwarzenberger, "A Manual of International Law," 5th edition, London 1967; M. Sukijasovic, "The Most Favoured Nation Treatment in the Contemporary World," JUGOSLOVENSKA REVOLJA ZA MEDUNARODNI PRAVO, 1977, No 1-2, pp 56-64.
6. V.I. Lisovskiy, 1) "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," 2d edition, Moscow, 1961, p 114; 2) "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," Moscow, 1970, p 129.
7. S.V. Chernichenko, "Ukaz. soch.," p 83.
8. See, for example, the Bulgarian law of 22 November 1972 concerning residence by foreigners in the People's Republic of Bulgaria; the 1963 Czechoslovak law on international personal law and others.
9. See, for example, the 1977 USSR Constitution, Article 37; Section V of the Foundations of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics Concerning Marriage and the Family of 1968; point 50 of the Czechoslovak Copyright Law No 35, 1965; Article 16 of the Civil Code of France and others.
10. See, for example, the 30 November 1976 Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "Concerning Currency Transactions On the Territory of the USSR."

11. See Article 29 of the 1978 USSR Law on Citizenship (VEDOMOSTI VERKHNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1978, No 49, p 816), Article 36 Part 2 of the Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics Concerning Marriage and Family" and others.
12. For the text see: VEDOMOSTI VERKHNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1981, No 26, p 837.
13. The difference in the number of rights possessed by foreigners and by the state's own citizens is sometimes pointed out. For example, "Kurs mezhdunarodnogo prava" contains the following "... with the exception of those political rights with which only their own citizens are endowed" ("Kurs mezhdunarodnogo prava," Vol 3, p 92).
14. M.M. Boguslavskiy, 1) "Novyy sovetskiy zakon o pravovom polozhenii inostrannykh grazhdan v SSSR. Tezisy dokladov" [A New Soviet Law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens in the USSR. Theses of Reports], Moscow, 1982, pp 17-21; 2) "Mezhdunarodnoye chastnoye pravo," Moscow 1974, p 67; M. Genovski, "Ukaz. soch." p 144.
15. This position was also noted in a report given at the Human Rights Committee on the subject of the applicability of existing international provisions concerning the protection of human rights to persons who are not citizens of the country in which they reside (UN Documents, E/CN.4/Sub.2/369/Add. 1-3).
16. This was correctly noted by M.M. Boguslavskiy and A.A. Rubanov (M.M. Boguslavskiy and A.A. Rubanov, "Pravovoye polozheniye inostrantsev v SSSR" [The Legal Position of Foreigners in the USSR], Moscow, 1962, p 28).
17. VEDOMOSTI VERKHNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1968, No 40.
18. "Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogоворов, соглашений и конвенций, заключенных СССР с иностранными государствами" [Collection of Existing Treaties, Agreements and Conventions Concluded by the USSR with Foreign States], Moscow, 1978, Vyp 32, p 114-133.
19. Article 2 of the 22 April 1976 Treaty on Trade Between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic (For the text see: "Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogоворов..." Vyp 32, p 232).
20. Article 2 Point 1 of the 28 December 1973 Trade Agreement Between the USSR and Ireland (Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogоворов..." Moscow, 1975, Vyp 29, p 159).
21. Article 5 of the 20 April 1963 Agreement on Trade and Payments Between the USSR and Brazil (Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogоворов..." Moscow, 1970, Vyp 23, p 233).
22. A.I. Mikul'shin, "O ponyatii i vidakh rezhimov inostrantsev," p 182.

23. The same conclusion was drawn by A.I. Mikul'shin, in pointing to the referential nature of the provisions concerning most-favored status (M.I. Mikul'shin, "Ukaz. soch.," p 183).
24. See UN Documents: A/CN.4/257 Add. 1; A/CN.4266; A/CN.4/280; A/CN.4/286; A/CN.Ser. A/1976/ Add. 1.
25. See the matter regarding the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (1952), the Ambatelos (1953) affair and others. CLJ. "Recueil des arrêts, avis consultatifs et ordonnances," 1952-1953).
26. "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," Under the editorship of Professor G.V. Ignatenko and D.D. Ostapenko, p 190.
27. "Sbornik d'yystvuyushchikh dogovorov ..." Vyp 32, p 465.
28. "Kurs mezdunarodnogo prava," under the editorship of Professor F.I. Kozhevnikova. 3d edition, Moscow, 1972, pp 185-186.
29. M. Potocny, "Mezinarodni pravo verejne," Praha, 1973, p 196.
30. A.I. Mikul'shin, "Ukaz. soch." p 188.
31. "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," under the editorship of L.A. Modzhoryan and Docent N.T. Blatova, Moscow, 1979, p 271.
32. A.I. Mikul'shin, "Ukaz. soch.," pp 186-187.
33. "Mizhnarodne pravo," p 102.
34. "Mezhdunarodnoye pravo," under the editorship of Professor G.V. Ignatenko and D.D. Ostapenko, p 190.
35. For more detail see: UN Documents E/CN.4/Sub. 2/369/ Add. 3

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INTERNATIONAL

GROWING DOMESTIC OPPOSITION TO REAGAN DEFENSE POLICY SURVEYED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 15 Dec 82 pp 1-5

[Letter from Washington by S. Kondrashov, special to IZVESTIA]

[Text] Some three hundred American Catholic bishops, spiritual guardians of fifty million American Catholics, have fallen into "nuclear heresy."

The point is that the American military strategy has been directed almost since the very day of the Hiroshima atom bombing towards justifying nuclear weapons as a "deterrent," implying that the more weapons the U.S. has, the more effective this deterrent is supposed to be, especially in current lights. It is this kind of faith that underlies the drive to launch new systems of nuclear weapons such as MX intercontinental ballistic missiles. Catholic bishops are ready, in defiance of the U.S. Government, to accept the "nuclear deterrence" concept only if Washington goes for a reduction, rather than build-up, of nuclear arsenals and desists from a "search of superiority" over the Soviet Union. Neither do the "heretics" agree with another Washington tenet implying readiness to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Under no circumstances can the use of nuclear arms be "morally justified," that is the position of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy.

These are two points of what is far from a theological controversy, but there is more to it.

"Nuclear heresy" came to light when a special group of bishops got down to drawing up a so-called pastoral epistle on the issues of war and peace, which is intended to be read out in churches and to serve as a kind of religious-moral guide to action for American Catholics. The first draft of it appeared last June and, naturally, touched off widespread reactions from various quarters. One of the first to react was Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. He did not approve of the bishops' intrusion into a diocese that he considered to be his own only. On the other hand, he insisted that there was nothing on the Earth to please God more than the arms race. Other members of the Cabinet joined him. As a news analyst Mary McCrory sarcastically noted, different members of the government had set about persuading the clergymen that the future of humanity was none of their concern. Yet they failed to impress it on their minds. The bishops persisted in their delusion. The second draft of the pastoral epistle, which was published last October, denounced the immorality of nuclear war preparations in even stronger terms.

Close to three hundred Catholic bishops assembled for their national conference in mid-November. Yet it would hardly have gotten into the limelight, had it not been for the same draft pastoral epistle on the issues of war and peace. There was more of public debate and more hectic controversy. Once again, the epistle was welcomed at grassroots but frowned upon at top level. The man that turned out to be most actively involved at official level this time was William Clark, the presidential national security adviser.

He addressed a letter to the bishops, which had first reached newspapers for some obscure reason. Appealing to their patriotic sentiment, the presidential adviser called upon the conference to have mercy on the "doctrine of deterrence" and stint no praise for the non-existent White House efforts in behalf of arms control. The gist of the long letter was properly understood. "We shall not succumb to intimidation," Archbishop Bernardin of Chicago, who is in charge of the drafting of the pastoral epistle, told Clark. Instead of moderating its criticism of official policy, the conference sharpened it. It will meet again next May to endorse the final text.

So here you have yet another, somewhat peculiar, manifestation of growing anti-nuclear feeling. There are the concerned medical men, concerned scientists, concerned women and lawyers, and now there are the concerned clergymen--Catholics and Protestants among them. It is not the "hand of Moscow" but Washington's dangerous policies that have set in motion the protest by people from all walks of life and sections of society. Not only foreign policies, but domestic economic policies as well. And it was not by chance that the same Catholic conference should have called upon the American leaders to reject the present policy which sought to get rid of the burden of economic ills at the expense of the poor and the jobless.

When he became president two years ago, Reagan believed that he had received two mandates from the electors--one for a sweeping buildup of the armed forces and the other, for an economic "conservative revolution" that meant slashing the social programmes for various groups of people that need them. It was an income tax reduction that was supposed to be the major bait for the average American.

The U.S. President is still labouring under the impression that both mandates are as valid as ever. He is wrong. The most salient feature of the current situation, although it is not yet completely in evidence, is that the Americans have been withdrawing the mandates from the president surely, if slowly, after having seen that what they have got instead of a promised economic miracle is the unemployment of prewar dimensions and a hopelessly long recession.

A Harris opinion poll, conducted for the BUSINESS WEEK magazine, has shown only 17 per cent of the Americans to favour increased military spending, as against 71 per cent who went on record two years ago for granting the Pentagon's appetites, however insatiable these might have been.

It should be noted once again that the results of the mid-term elections held early in November testified to the changing political climate. The Republican Party lost 26 seats in the House of Representatives, failing to gain support from Congressmen

who were brought to Capitol Hill by the wave of Reagan's victory in 1980. On the other hand, three-quarters of the newly-elected Democratic Congressmen demanded during the election campaign a slow-down in the rate of growth in the defence budget.

The increased risk of nuclear war stimulated anti-war sentiments. Reaganomics proved so ineffective that many Americans had come to realize that the United States could not afford any extravagance in military spending.

The deficit in the federal budget, which is officially expected to reach 185 to 195 billion dollars in the next financial year, is another argument against further growth in military expenditures. Pete V. Domenici (Rep.), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Budget, said that the level of unemployment was politically unacceptable for the American people.

How does the Reagan administration react to all these arguments? On the whole, it stubbornly refuses to take the new moods into account. On November 22 when he announced his decision to place 100 new intercontinental MX missiles in the state of Wyoming in closely spaced silos, President Reagan once again tried to convince the Americans that war preparations were the only way to peace.

What happened then? A fortnight after the President's speech concerning MX and a week after the reopening of the Congress session of 97th convocation the White House suffered a major defeat on Capitol Hill. By the 245-176 vote the House of Representatives struck 988 million dollars for construction of the first five MX missiles from the Pentagon's budget.

True, the House had left in the bill 1.7 billion dollars in MX research and development funds and an additional 715 million dollars in research and development money for its basing system.

It is also true that Congressmen had different reasons for killing the bill. Some of them are opposed to the new nuclear weapon system in principle, claiming that it would undercut the SALT-I and SALT-II agreements and destabilize the strategic situation in the world. Others are not against MX in principle but reject its basing system proposed by the administration. Still others are guided by economic considerations and claim that the United States cannot afford extravagance and that it is high time to cut the Pentagon's share of the national budget. This argument is supported by the two other categories of Congressmen.

In any case, it was President Reagan's first Congressional defeat on a defence appropriations bill in two years of his presidency. Some analysts even say that the case has no precedent in history. They say that the Congress was never so rebellious against the President before in killing a major armaments programme.

The end of the MX battle between the White House and Congress is still a long way off. It is too early and risky to predict a victory of common sense. Having

learned its lesson from being over-confident, which resulted in political humiliation, the Administration is now actively lobbying in the Senate where, unlike the House, the Republicans have a majority. To save the MX programme President Reagan is ready to compromise on the method of its basing.

There is one thing that nobody can deny however. President Reagan and his administration are having a hard time, since public criticisms will undoubtedly manifest themselves in Congress, especially the Congress of new convocation which is to begin work in January of next year.

(IZVESTIA, December 14. Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/66

CEMA INTEGRATION: NEED FOR PLANNING, TIES BETWEEN PRODUCTION COMPLEXES

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 11, Nov 82 pp 11-19

[Article by Y. Shirayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Professor N. Bautina, D. Sc. (Econ.)]

[Text]

Demands made of the systems of economic planning and managing increase in conditions of the switchover of the economy of the USSR and the other socialist community countries to a predominantly intensive type of reproduction. The need to "consistently improve planning, ensure organic interaction of the plan, the economic levers and incentives, perfect organizational structures and methods of management"¹ was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

In connection with the development of socialist economic integration the upgrading of the national economic mechanisms is increasingly becoming a common task of socialist countries. The further deepening of the all-round economic and scientific and technological cooperation of the CMEA countries demands, as it was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, a constant study of experience accumulated by them in organizing and managing socialist production at all levels. This is demanded not only by the common requirements of the further upgrading of the practice of socialist management but also by the need to fulfil such tasks of the CMEA countries' development of the economic integration set by life as "aligning the structures of economic mechanisms, further extending direct ties between ministries, amalgamations and enterprises participating in cooperation, and establishing joint firms".²

Two aspects, we believe, are most important in the practical solution of all these problems: the proportion of the common and the specific in the development of national economic mechanisms and also the establishment of possible areas of their coalescence and the concrete instruments that should be regarded as the top-priority projects of this coalescence on an agreed-upon basis.

As regards the *first aspect* one should take into account the fact that the economic mechanism should not be viewed as a system with parameters set once and for all. Practice has shown that the perfection of economic management and planning is a continuous process. Every stage of the building of socialism and communism sets a number of definite tasks the fulfilment of which presupposes the fuller utilization of certain economic stimuli and organizational and economic forms. This determines

¹ *Documents and Resolutions. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1981*, p. 171.
² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the actual economic mechanism that services the functioning of socialist economic system in the given historical conditions. From this viewpoint the most substantial distinctions are between the economic mechanisms in countries that are fulfilling tasks of the transitional period and in countries that have built a developed socialist society.

In addition, there exist differences in the national systems of planning and management obtaining from the specifics of sectoral and territorial structures, the scale of economic complexes, the extent of their participation in the international division of labour, existing traditions of running the economy, and so on. These differences can also stem from the concept of individual countries of upgrading the instruments of the economic mechanism and of searching for concrete organizational forms and management meeting the requirements of the given economic complex.

The inevitable specificity of national economic mechanisms determined by all these factors means that the question of their full unification, of reducing them to some single model cannot be put on the agenda in the foreseeable future. At the present stage of socio-economic development it is necessary to widely use such a crucial reserve of raising the efficiency of socialist economic management as exchange of experience and the wide utilization on this basis of rational economic and organization solutions found in individual CMEA countries that have proved their worth in practice.

Naturally, national specifics of economic mechanisms under socialism have their objective limits, determined by the very nature of the new social system.³ Yet, we are dealing here with a typical example of differences within a unity. It is clear, for instance, that these specifics cannot be applied to such fundamental characteristics of the socialist economic system as the dominance of ownership by the whole people, planning an organic component of which is the use of levers of self-accounting and incentives, and the implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to work.

From this point of view one cannot regard as tenable, for instance, the proposals appearing sometimes in the works of economists in some CMEA countries that boil down to replacing self-accounting with commercial accounts (for instance, under the pretext of adjusting the economic mechanism to the requirements of the economy's more extensive involvement in the international division of labour). The economic mechanism cannot be characterized as a sum total of organizational instruments, forms and levers devoid of a concrete socio-economic thrust. It is called upon to serve expanded socialist reproduction and, consequently the reproduction of socialist production relations as well.

Lenin associated the formation of the economic mechanism with vigorous activity of the socialist state, and with economic policy.⁴ At the present stage of development of socialism the concrete forms, instruments and levers of the economic mechanism are forms and instruments of planned management carried out on the scale of the national economy as a whole and its separate structural elements. The objective nature of the economic mechanism lies precisely in the fact that the planned management of social production is a form of developing the economy inherent in socialism. "Socialism is inconceivable," Lenin wrote, "without planned state

* In economic literature relations of management are rightly regarded, in our opinion, as an active component of production relations.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 90-91.

organization, which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution."⁵ It is only on the basis of planned control of the actions of the subjects of management that it becomes possible to subordinate production of a developed social nature to economic interests of the whole people.

Thus, the common principles of socialist economic management are also objectively determining the framework within which it is possible to search for solutions through the economic mechanism that are specific for a given country, and by the same token, to effect an international exchange of experience in this field.⁶ Obviously, just any economic and managerial decisions, irrespective of their fundamental content and expected consequences, cannot become an object of such an exchange.

"This approach stems from a profound analysis of questions of organizing production, management and resolving economic problems on the socialist community level contained in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. The Congress not only stressed the vast importance of a mutual study of the diverse positive experience of socialist economic management accumulated in individual countries but also demonstrated a direct connection between the solution of key socio-economic tasks in individual fraternal countries with the further upgrading of the forms and methods of mutual cooperation, the utilization of fundamental advantages of the new type of international relations which in our time, in the socialist world "have truly become relations between nations. Millions upon millions of people take an immediate part in them".⁷

When studying the *second aspect* of this problem it should be noted that the experience of economic management accumulated in each of the countries is of unquestionable interest both in terms of theory and practice. But experience exchange in the field of forms and methods of economic management should deal with ways of solving similar problems of developing the national economy and common tasks and economic cooperation. It appears expedient, therefore, to ascertain the main objects (or spheres) of experience exchange in socialist economic management. As we see it, the selection of these objects should accord both with demands of adjusting economic mechanisms to the aims and tasks facing a country at the present stage and the need to intensify the coordination of the CMEA countries' national mechanisms and the international mechanism of economic cooperation.

With due account for these considerations it appears expedient to us to concentrate experience exchange in socialist economic management in such spheres of planning and management as the creation of conditions for scientific and technological progress and the implementation of its

5V. I. Lenin, COLLECTED WORKS, Vol. 27, p. 339.

* It is to this aspect of the problem that attention was drawn in his speech at the 36th Session of the CMEA(Budapest, June 1982) by the head of the Polish delegation Wojciech Jaruzelski who noted that in the process of upgrading methods of managing the economy Poland uses the experience of the other socialist community countries "which confirms once again that socialism is a viable system, flexible in the selection of concrete solutions allowing for a constant improvement of the methods of managing the economy while retaining the principles of the system, such as the dominant role of public ownership of the means of production, centralized planning and priority of social interests".

⁷ *Documents and Resolutions. The 26th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 9.

accomplishments; the use of commodity-monetary instruments in the practice of economic planning; forms and methods of carrying out integration measures; the establishment of a rational combination of centralized economic planning and the economic independence of amalgamations, complexes and organizations, including questions of the orientation of the main cost-accounting units at the development of economic cooperation with the CMEA countries. Of special importance is experience exchange in managing external economic activity at all levels (national, sectoral and those of economic organizations).

The most complex task, it appears, is the *coalescence of the systems of planning and management as a whole*. This is connected not only with the specifics of national systems (determined by the concrete conditions of conducting economic activities in individual countries) but also by the fact that the socialist community countries actively search for and test decisions in the field of the economic mechanism to adjust it to the changed reproduction conditions.

To some extent it is a multiple-variant economic experiment, the best results of which can be recommended for wide use only after thorough testing in practice and a detailed analysis.

This, of course, does not mean that it is necessary to desist from multilateral and bilateral participation in work in this direction until the national economic mechanisms "get settled". The upgrading process, as was noted above, is continuous. For this reason *it appears expedient to intensify the multilateral nature of this process* (for instance, as one of the key objects of coordinating the economic policy of the interested CMEA countries). The arrangement of a system of a sort of "collective testing" would promote not only the intensification of experience exchange in socialist economic management but would also become an important precondition for developing the national mechanisms in mutually agreed upon areas, for ensuring their growing orientation at serving the all-round interaction of economic complexes.

It is only natural that the introduction of various methods of planning and management is a sovereign matter of each socialist country. Yet at the same time, it is just as obvious that the results of national research in this field are of considerable interest to the entire community from the standpoint of both the prospects of deepening the interaction of national economic mechanisms and their economic and social efficiency. The practice of recent years has demonstrated, for instance, that such consequences of irrational economic management as excessive external debt, internal imbalance, etc., ultimately affect the entire community and sometimes make other fraternal countries divert considerable resources.

●

Vast reserves exist at the present stage in the organization of a regular exchange of forms and methods of fulfilling concrete national economic tasks in individual branches of production, in inter-sectoral production complexes and in the non-productive sphere. The aim of intensifying mutual exchange in this sphere was formulated in Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 26th CPSU Congress.

This aspect was also singled out at the 36th CMEA Session by Soviet delegation head Nikolai Tikhonov. Thus, it was noted in his speech that many CMEA countries are taking effective measures to save fuel, raw materials and energy. In recent years, for instance, the GDR and Hungary have succeeded in boosting production while reducing the volume of

energy consumption. Considerable technical achievements in this field also exist in other countries, including the Soviet Union. But the accumulated experience has not yet been placed within the reach of all.

We intend, Nikolai Tikhonov continued in his speech, to make wider use of the experience accumulated by individual CMEA countries, to proceed from information exchange to mutually advantageous cooperation in the introduction into practice of the advanced technologies used in the development of the agro-industrial complex.*

In this connection stress should be laid on the need for consistently fulfilling the targets formulated in the Section 8 of the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration where, among other things, the following main aspects of direct ties between ministries, departments and other economic units are mentioned:

information exchange on the state, experience and ideas concerning the development of scientific and technological, production and trade activities, planning, the organization and management of production and also in the services sphere;

cooperation in research and development, scientific and technological forecasting and analyses, coordination and joint conducting of research, design and development work, exchange of technical documentation and scientific and technological accomplishments;

cooperation in specialization and cooperation in production, and planning of production capacities;

cooperation in the development and use of modern technological processes, particularly in the automation and mechanization of production;

cooperation in the services sphere, organization and fulfilment of contract work, rendering of technical assistance, and organization of services.

The development of direct ties of economic units of various levels, including amalgamations, complexes, and large enterprises, R & D organizations, is a prerequisite for intensifying exchange of advanced production experience and know-how.

Discussing the problem of direct ties we have approached the third complex of problems connected with the deepening of the interaction of the planning and management systems in the CMEA countries—*the coalescence of the forms and methods of managing external economic activities*.

Describing this aspect of the cohesion of economic mechanisms as a "complex problem" is by no means a formal tribute to the comprehensive approach without which a scientific analysis of any complicated socio-economic phenomena is inconceivable today. The coalescence of the forms and methods of managing external economic activities is an intricate process involving virtually all levels of socialist economic management.

From this point of view the mutual adjustment of external economic organizational structures and regulators in the CMEA countries can be regarded, on the one hand, as a top-priority task of drawing together economic mechanisms (inasmuch as these mechanisms interact directly first of all in the process of serving mutual economic and scientific and technological ties). On the other hand, the mutual adjustment of external economic systems of planning and management does not remove a problem of aligning the national economic mechanisms as a whole (at least

* *Pravda*, June 9, 1982.

in such indicators as their common orientation at serving predominantly the intensive type of reproduction and the deepening of effective and mutually advantageous forms of integration ties corresponding to this type of reproduction).

For this reason it is necessary to identify top-priority tasks, the attainment of which facilitates and stimulates the development of progressive areas of external economic ties, and the ultimate aim—the overcoming of any barriers to rational economic activity within the socialist community as a developing international economic complex. Obviously, the ultimate aim can be attained only in the remote future.

But even considering such a distinction between top-priority and long-range tasks it is necessary to constantly check the decisions in the field of planning and managing external ties against the common fundamental directions of the development of forms and methods of socialist economic management. Thus, it would be an oversimplification to present matters in such a way that a simple coalescence of the instruments used in foreign trade is capable by itself of deepening socialist integration, of consistently introducing it into the fabric of national economic complexes.

Foreign trade is the most universal means of international economic intercourse. But in conditions of integration things go further than just exchanging commodities and services. The centre of gravity of cooperation is increasingly shifting directly to the stage of production (specialization and cooperation in production, construction conducted on the basis of integration, etc.) and the non-production stages (the scientific and technological preparation of production, coordination in investment policy, synchronization of sectoral development concept, and joint establishment of priority cooperation projects).

For this reason the mutual adjustment of individual elements of the national economic mechanisms directly serving external economic ties should be regarded in a broader sense, and include certain measures that also apply to the intra-economic systems of planning and management as a whole. This can be seen with particular clarity from the case of developing direct ties and creating conditions for setting up joint firms and enterprises and pooling the efforts of the interested CMEA countries in other forms.

In the long term the direct ties in the production, science and technology should become an important instrument of forming and developing international production complexes or systems of the socialist type, that is, diverse forms of the international organization of production based on the participation of partners from various countries in the common production process and presupposing regular reciprocal ties (including ties at the stage of the industrial or personal consumption—technical maintenance, service, flexible and prompt reaction to the changing technical requirements to finished products, assemblies, components and semi-finished products).

From this standpoint, one should not underrate the experience of direct production ties already accumulated by the CMEA countries. Such ties, for instance, have formed in the motor vehicle industry and are developing especially intensively in the manufacture of Lada cars, KAMAZ and Skoda trucks, and Ikarus buses and Avia vans. Large-scale industrial cooperation is being developed in the production of equipment for atomic power stations, electronics and micro-electronics.

The crux of the matter is not altered by the fact that this cooperation is usually arranged through foreign trade organizations. In this case

foreign trade performs only a service function by synchronizing the work of the cooperating enterprises and research centres within a single programme of production and the technical upgrading of output. The essence of direct production ties lies not in the form of their marketing (through specialized foreign trade organizations or through the commercial departments of enterprises and amalgamations) but in their prime function—to pool efforts of partners to attain common targets.

For this reason the development of direct production ties depends on the level and intensity of international production and scientific and technological cooperation, the share of which in the total volume of the mutual cooperation of the CMEA countries is steadily growing. For this reason these ties should be regarded not as an aim in itself but as an important lever of raising the efficiency of socialist economic integration.

It is in this context that they are regarded in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress which set the task of improving direct contacts between ministries, production amalgamations, enterprises and organizations in the USSR and the other CMEA countries, participating in cooperation.* The growing role of cooperation will also promote the fulfilment of such tasks set by the Congress as the establishment of joint firms and the research for other forms of pooling the efforts and making rational use of resources of socialist countries.

It also follows from the above-stated that direct ties should not be studied apart from the overall system of the CMEA countries' mutual cooperation and should particularly not be opposed to such forms of collaboration on the level of national economies as the coordination of five-year plans and the drafting of long-term programmes of cooperation on a multilateral or bilateral basis.

Important preconditions have been created in the years of the fulfilment of the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration for solving, for example, the question of organically including direct production ties in the overall system of cooperation of the CMEA countries. These preconditions exist first of all in the establishment of the most substantial (pattern) areas of their development set by the long-term target-oriented programmes of cooperation, long-term bilateral programmes of specialized and cooperative production, as well as large-scale multilateral and bilateral agreements. This creates conditions for a clear-cut orientation of the direct ties, for preventing the possibility of a certain dilution of mutual cooperation as a result of the burgeoning of weakly interconnected contacts on economic organizations' level. Thus, there appears a tendency now to subordinate the direct ties of sectoral managerial bodies to the aims of forming and realizing the agreed-upon technical policy of the development of the relevant economic sectors. The direct ties on the other levels of managing the national economy are also turning into an ever more substantial element of the material basis of coordinating the production and research activity of the CMEA countries.

All this does not mean, of course, that direct production ties are becoming fully dissolved in the sum total of forms of cooperation effected on the level of national economies, and are shedding their specifics. While facilitating the fulfilment of accords reached on that level, they play

* *Documents and Resolutions. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1981.*
p. 235.

quite an independent role by ensuring the prompt solution of a multitude of daily problems concerning the interaction of thousands of enterprises, amalgamations and research organizations.

The expansion of direct ties of cooperation is becoming a method of tackling the most pressing problem of intensifying CMEA economic development—that of an accelerated introducing into practice scientific and technological breakthroughs. All forms of direct contacts between industrial and research centres should be oriented first of all exactly at the solution to this problem. In the final analysis the task of direct ties boils down to the maximum saving of socially necessary time spent on the development and manufacture of goods incorporating the latest scientific and technological achievements by the partners.

Direct cooperation ties are proving to be the most effective in solving many questions of production cooperation for their flexibility and effectiveness. This applies, in particular, to such problems as the updating of output or switchover to the production of new types of it. Thus, the record has shown that the terms and time of delivery of some units or assemblies for the output of pilot samples of products or production installations can by far not always be stipulated in long-term international agreements on specialization and cooperation and also in the five-year export and import plans of the partners. It is also difficult to set in advance the concrete prices of the products because their technical and economic indicators can be determined only after their development and introduction into production. What is needed in such cases are prompt contacts that differ from conventional foreign trade transactions by the formalities that are required, by the manner accounts are settled, and so on.

But it is precisely in this sphere that most substantial difficulties arise in practice. Foremost among them are problems of balancing mutual deliveries within the framework of direct production ties and differences in the sphere of competence in external economic activity possessed by enterprises and amalgamations of individual countries within their common systems of economic planning and management. Also of substantial importance are differences in the methods of interaction between production and foreign trade organizations.

What with the growing role of amalgamations, complexes and large enterprises in the national economies of the CMEA countries better pre-conditions are now appearing for the establishment of direct production ties between them, even though a number of unsolved problems remain here. For example, the systems of economic planning and management existing in many countries provide insufficient scope to levers directly stimulating the development of both internal and international cooperation in production. It appears that the development of such levers can be accomplished most successfully on the basis of summing up the collective experience of the CMEA countries in this field and the introduction into practice, on this basis, of the most effective (and also operating in one and the same area) economic, organizational and juridical decisions.

It is clear that such stimulation cannot be limited only to the perfection of self-accounting within enterprises and amalgamations. Since by far not all the effects on the cooperation in production can be detected at the level of enterprises and amalgamations, and even individual sectors of the national economy, it is necessary to create a system for operating on a profitable basis and evaluating them on the scale of the national

economy. On this basis it will be possible within each national economic complex to determine the actual contribution made by cooperation to economic and scientific and technological progress and, consequently, the amount of resources that it is feasible from the viewpoint of national economic interests to invest in stimulating them.

In addition to improving the corresponding normative documents the utilization of reserves in this field could also be improved by introducing into practice such forms as the establishment of specialized technical service centres, the conclusion of agreements on technical servicing, and so on. Such forms of cooperation could facilitate the creation of more favourable conditions for cooperation in general since close ties between the manufacturer and the consumers of export produce are established in the process of technical servicing.

A sophisticated system of direct production ties also requires a smoothly operating information base making it easier to search for partners. International organizations and firms can play a key role here. A certain amount of experience has already been accumulated. Yet there is a need for a serious analysis to determine the specific conditions in which organizations and firms will be able to play the role of centres arranging cooperation and other production ties in individual industries.

It follows from all this that problems of deepening economic collaboration are multifaceted and complex, and for this reason, should not be oversimplified. At the same time, new possibilities are opening in this field reflecting the objective need to mobilize the reserves of raising the efficiency of socialist economic management contained in it.

The 26th CPSU Congress scientifically substantiated the main areas of the further coalescence of the systems of planning and managing the external ties of the CMEA countries within socialist economic integration. They include supplementing the coordination of economic development plans with synchronizing economic policy as a whole, aligning the structures of national economic mechanisms, and more extensive exchange of experience in socialist economic management.

To fulfil the decisions of the Congress specific measures have been taken in the Soviet Union to upgrade direct ties between various ministries, production amalgamations, enterprises and organizations of the USSR and those of the CMEA cooperating countries. The responsibility of all economic units for the fulfilment of obligations in the field of external economic relations has been heightened. A search is underway in the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries for new possibilities of developing mutual cooperation to ensure rational utilization of the huge scientific and technological and production potential and the material, financial and labour resources of the socialist countries with the aim of jointly solving the problems of intensifying the development of the national economies and creating additional sources of commodities.

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INTERNATIONAL

SUPPLYING OF FRENCH RADIO TRANSMITTERS TO AFGHAN REBELS ATTACKED

PM221313 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 82 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by A. Krivopalov: "Paris: Provocateurs"]

[Text] The other day LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS published an item admitting that back in 1981 French radio transmitters in the guise of "Radio Free Kabul" were introduced into Afghanistan's territory, in Konarha Province.

With unusual frankness the Paris newspaper wrote that "Certain French organizations" are giving assistance to counterrevolutionaries operating within the country. This is declared in a bold, self-confident way--without a shadow of doubt that this kind of interference in the affairs of a sovereign state with which Paris maintains diplomatic relations is permissible and justified.

It is clear from the report in LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS that the secretly supplied radio transmitters are used by the Basmak underground to coordinate bandit sorties and provocative activity against the lawful government of Afghanistan. The unsigned article stresses with the professional pride of masters of secret operations that the radio transmitters delivered illegally from France have proved more "effective" than other stations used for subversive operations. Incidentally, the same issue of the newspaper echoes the Washington disinformationists' wild fabrications about the use of Soviet-made chemical weapons in Afghanistan--a lie which has already been convincingly refuted many times.

What the French bourgeois press had earlier tried to disguise in some way has now become open and all the I's have finally been dotted and the T's crossed. And although LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS has for some reason forgotten to name those who are carrying out this subversive action in practice, they should be remembered.

On 12 September 1981 the newspaper LE MONDE published an article by a certain Marek Halter. It told how three radio transmitters had been delivered to Afghanistan from France in secret. At that time the author of the article modestly mentioned that they had been acquired thanks to the "generosity of some people and the determination of others." Halter reported that his accomplice in this operation was Bernard-Henri Levy, and that the partners planned to send more than 30 more transmitters to Afghan territory. At the end

of the article there is an address where resources can be sent to "replenish" the fund for this subversive operation: "Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. Radio Free Kabul, 152 Rue Chateau, Paris." However, in reality there was only a sorry little restaurant at this address. Even supposing its speciality was canard, the coordinates were clearly given to mislead people: the action with the radio transmitters was carefully kept secret.

But those on the official list of participants in this dirty act of sabotage, which naturally required professional operatives too, are sufficiently well known in the French capital. They have been seen on television. They were practically depicted as heroes, although in essence they are only violators of borders and laws.

M. Halter, mediocre artist and pseudointellectual, who became an accomplice of the Afghan Basmachi, once indulged in leftwing phraseology. Now he is invariably a participant in all anti-Soviet campaigns in Paris. B.-A. Levy, who claims a reputation as a scientist, joins him with equal fervor in honoring such gatherings with his presence.

Levy's latest work--"French Ideology"--caused a great commotion. This 300-page book contains a host of fabrications and slander. The obscurantist, a self-styled "new philosopher," tries to prove in his work that the motherland of the Paris commune is a "hotbed of fascism and racism." Among the fascists' predecessors, Levy includes Voltaire, Prud'homme and Lafargue. According to his crazy reasoning, the most dangerous embodiment of contemporary fascism is in the struggle against...the power of money and anti-Americanism.

Despite the image, generally accepted, even in the West, of U.S. society as a system based on racism, violence and claiming, furthermore, the role of world gendarme, Levy terms the United States a veritable paradise where "human rights and freedom" flourish.

Of course, such "discoveries" were interrupted in France only by the applause of extreme reaction. The ideologist with the obscure reasoning not only found an easy path to the Afghan basmaks, but actively helped their subversive anti-people activity and participated with them in base and shameful crimes. It is impossible to separate the secret supply of radio transmitters to the bandits from the deliveries of arms in which the U.S. CIA has been engaging, according to the multitude of evidence in the Western press, in particular the French newspapers LE MONDE and LE MATIN. This is simply a division of duties coordinated in a single center.

Halter and Levy freely served the special services operating against revolutionary Afghanistan while continuing to babble about their adherence to "defending the rights of man and of the peoples." To prove this they should simply have gone to the Arab territories occupied by Tel Aviv or have visited the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut where the Israeli punitive squads carried out mass slaughter. However, the companions in subversion did not find a single word of condemnation for the Zionists, of course.

It is well known that the radio transmitters are being widely used by underground agents of the imperialist and reactionary forces operating in Afghanistan. LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS expresses satisfaction in that connection. It is no surprise that there were no representatives of that newspaper at a recent Paris press conference given by Afghan Education Minister F. Yaqubi. The minister described the colossal struggle being conducted by people's power to eliminate illiteracy. He also announced that the enemies of the revolution had burned down and destroyed 1,713 schools in Afghanistan. It is difficult to determine just how many such operations were carried out thanks to the kind services of Halter, Levy and other "enlightened" partners of the basmaks in France. But quite a few, it would seem. May LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, which believes that it is "implanting what is rational, good and eternal," also add this to its tally.

CSO: 1807/82

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. JADE TIGER MANEUVERS IN OMAN, SOMALIA CRITICIZED

PM241437 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 82 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Midtsev "Notes Apropos": "Runup to Aggression"]

[Text] Exactly a year ago, 6,000 members of professional hit squads from the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force" took part in maneuvers codenamed Bright Star on the territory of Egypt, Oman and Somalia. Now another contingent of the same military grouping has been taking part in similar maneuvers codenamed Jade Tiger on the territory of Oman and Somalia. Some 2,500 U.S. soldiers took part in the exercises in each country.

The maneuvers were held under the supervision of Adm R. Long, commander, U.S. Armed Forces, Pacific, and Gen R. Kingston, commander of the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force." The exercises rehearsed combined action by naval, ground and air forces, intended to invade the littoral states of the northwest Indian Ocean in the event of disturbances starting in those countries. In other words, they were exercises by potential aggressors.

This operation is foreseen in the Pentagon's strategic plans and, what is more, is being prepared for actively and systematically by holding annual training exercises, so to speak, on the ground.

According to Washington strategists' thinking, the strongpoints for carrying out this operation are to be the U.S. bases created in advance on the territory of the countries designated as the future victims of aggression. The maneuvers in Oman and Somalia were held using these bases. In this connection it may be recalled that in 1980, when the Americans were still trying to acquire these bases, they called them "storage depots" for weapons and military equipment. This terminology, aimed at simpletons, can no longer deceive anybody.

The participation of Omani and Somali subunits in the maneuvers this year was purely symbolic in nature. It was intended merely to conceal the unworthy position of the Omani and Somali authorities, who have allowed this situation in which the U.S. military is being permitted to act as though in its own home in those countries. Sultan Qabus' Omani Government tried to surround the recent exercises with a veil of secrecy. The fact is, as AP reported, that "many people in the Persian Gulf have no trust in the Americans and particularly in their armed forces in this region." Of course not! What kind of trust is

possible, if the immediate goal of the recent exercises was to intimidate this region's states and to further fuel tension in the Persian Gulf zone, where the Iran-Iraq conflict has been going on for over 2 years now.

As for the Somali leadership, continuing its hopeless course toward aggravating the conflict with Ethiopia and destabilizing the situation in the Horn of Africa, it has tried by contrast to advertise the spectacle staged by the Pentagon producers. In particular, Mogadishu Radio reported the visit by U.S. military leaders to Somalia and the fact that they were observing the progress of the exercises, in which U.S. F-15 aircraft and Somali Air Defense Forces were taking part. Apparently, the Somali leadership's strange logic leads it to think that the worse things are, the better. But it is high time for them to think about how dangerous it is for Somalia to play with the fire fanned by the Pentagon adventurists.

The countries of the region, which are upholding their sovereign rights and do not intend to play up to Washington's expansionist military plans, have naturally condemned the military maneuvers of the Reagan "crusaders." In particular, an Ethiopian Foreign Ministry statement pointed out that the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force" exercises in the northwest Indian Ocean, like the U.S. Bright Star maneuvers last year, "pose a threat to the security of Socialist Ethiopia and adversely affect the stability of the situation in the region."

It is apparently not enough for Washington that U.S. soldiery is based in Sinai for an indefinite period. Nor is it enough that its soldiery has entrenched itself so unceremoniously on Lebanese territory, mutilated by the Israeli aggressors. The U.S. military has also taken it into its head to get a grip on the Gulf of Aden and the Persian Gulf and to trample, and maybe settle in the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa. Its appetite is insatiable. However, the peoples are legitimately asking: when will the United States finally leave this region's countries in peace and stop imposing its adventurist policy on them?

CSO: 1807/80

INTERNATIONAL

NEW MOOD AMONG POLISH MINERS LEADS TO RISING PRODUCTION

PM291629 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 82 p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondents Yu. Orlik and G. Pryakhin: "En Route Toward Changes" under the rubric "Polish Reportage"]

[Text] Particular honor surrounds the labor of miners in Poland. Certainly only the shipbuilders enjoy the same kind of renown that those who extract the "black gold" do. There is a simple explanation for this: coal is the country's chief resource, the foundation of its economy.

Over the first 11 months of this year Polish miners sent 174 million tons of coal to the surface. December is to provide a further 15 million tons. So the annual total will be rounded off with a figure close to 190 million tons.

These figures--which are impressive in themselves--need some explanation. Last year only 163 million tons of coal were extracted in the country. Poland found itself on the brink of an energy catastrophe. Hundreds of construction projects were at a standstill, every third cement kiln was idle and power supplies to many enterprises were stringently rationed.

After the introduction of martial law in December of last year the difficult but steady process began whereby the country was extricated from the crisis. The mining industry was the first to resume a normal labor rhythm.

At the Ministry of Mining and the power industry we were familiarized some figures which shed additional light on the events of the recent past and it was explained to us why the Silesian mines came under particular scrutiny in Washington and other capitals that are remote from Poland. We were told why it was from across the ocean that ardent appeals rang out in defense of the "honor of the Polish miner," that is, appeals for sabotage, strikes and the boycotting of Saturday working. While destroying the foundations of the Polish economy by using "solidarity" as a battering ram and calculating the future political dividends (the collapse of the economy, the collapse of the system), the overseas patrons of a "self-governing republic" did not forget about their own profits. The catastrophic slump in the extraction of coal in the country forced Poland to limit its export to Western countries to a minimum--from 27 million tons in 1980 to 7.5 million tons in 1981. The United States took its

place in Poland's traditional coal markets and increased its exports of the raw material for the power industry by 29 million tons; Australia increased its exports by 11 million tons, and the Republic of South Africa--by 9 million tons. In other words people capitalized on the Polish crisis. And a substantial amount of capital was made too. After this, is there any reason to be surprised that the West was so generous with money for "solidarity?" They knew that they would recoup their money.

Describing the economic expansion of the United States, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said the following at a meeting with miners in Jastrzebie on their holiday: "The aim was clear: to strike us in the most tender spot. To stifle the Polish competitor in that area of the economy in which Poland was able to compete successfully with America. It was the aim of the United States to paralyze Poland, starve it to death, cause the collapse of its power industry and transportation, and provoke uncontrollable eruptions of despair.... American radio stations fanned the demands for wage increases while at the same time spreading insinuations about the collapse of the Polish economy, inflation and lines outside food stores. Various means for supporting extremist antisocialist groupings flooded into the country. A stop was put to this on 13 December."

Socialism proved once again that it knows how to defend itself.

When we visited the Barbara Chorzow Mine in Katowice Voivodship we were able to see for ourselves that a vital turnaround had come about in the work of the coal extraction industry (and what is just as important, in the mood of the miners). This is one of the oldest pits in the basin--it is about 200 years old--it possesses rich traditions, and it has whole dynasties of miners where not only the knowledge of how to hew coal, but also character traits--firmness and assertiveness--are handed down from father to son.

"The geological conditions at the mine are difficult," said Jozef Matuszek, its director. "The coal recedes ever deeper. The miners are working now at level '615.' But equipment, experience and skill have made it possible to extract 80 percent of the coal by mechanized methods. The daily output is 4,000 tons. This year the mine's collective will provide 20,000 tons of 'black gold' over and above the plan. And this is without an increase in the work force. There are still 3,600 workers. So you can assess what a year of martial law has given us."

Marian Mleczko and Tomasz Franel, two young miners, joined in the conversation. They represent the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] organization which numbers some 800 members. They speak frankly without concealing difficulties. The young people had become mistrustful and wrapped up in themselves. The words "crisis of consciousness" frequently crop up. Overcoming this crisis was a protracted business. The ZSMP board compiled, together with the party committee, a plan for work with young miners. Gatherings are held regularly (a year ago you could summon people to gatherings until you were black in the face, but they would not attend), meetings between the different generations are also held, and the J. Krasicki discussion club has resumed its work.

"Of course, this is only the start," said Franciszek Banko, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the mine's party committee. "But it is important that matters have gotten moving again. I will tell you this: We taught young people how to enjoy the benefits of socialism but did not teach them how to defend its borders. So the young people became disoriented under the blows of the political adversary. And it is a hard job setting themselves to rights. Especially as the antisocialist underground has not abandoned its propaganda which tends to befuddle young minds."

We were at the mine a few days prior to 10 November. The counterrevolutionary rabble was pinning special hopes on that date (the second anniversary of the registration of "solidarity"). Underground bulletins and newsletters abounded in appeals for "a decisive trial of strength"--a general strike. Radio Free Europe, as always, turned the appeals into instructions: It reminded people about the need to create a strike fund, to procure shortwave radio receivers and transmitters, and it took pains to ensure that the strike would be supplemented by "demonstrations and processions which would distract part of the forces of order."

And that is why the words of the party committee secretary carried overtones of anxiety. Anxiety but not perplexity. We witnessed how he telephoned round to the party activists, and asked them to be at such and such a sector, at such and such a [coal] face, and to talk to the people. They were to explain the situation. "We didn't have strikes even during the time of 'solidarity,' he explained. I am sure that there will be no emergency this time either. Nonetheless we must not be complacent or allow our vigilance to slip. Neither today, nor when martial law is suspended. That is what we are communists for."

He rose from behind the table. He was tall and broad-shouldered, there were tight creases by his lips and he had bright, trusting eyes. We knew a little about his background. He had been educated as a technician and mechanic. For 10 years he had worked at a plant manufacturing mining equipment. He then found himself at the Barbara Chorzow Mine. He worked as a fitter at the coal face. The roof fell in on him, injuring his spine. He had to move to the supervisory service. His total term of service was over 20 years. He has been secretary of the party committee ("there is no harder work") for a year. A year which is rightly called the year of the turnaround.

"You asked me what I consider to be my chief success as party secretary? A session of the party committee will take place next week. We shall be admitting some young miners to the party. There will be five of them. The first five this year. I have been waiting for that moment, and I have paved the way for it as far as I was able. You may remember when in September our economy succeeded on achieving a 1-percent increase in output, the press wrote about the 'sparkling ray of hope.' These five lads who have decided to throw in their lot with the party at this difficult time for us are my hope."

Franciszek Banko bade us farewell. People down at the coal face were expecting him.

CSO: 1807/79

INTERNATIONAL

VATICAN INTERFERENCE IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CRITICIZED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 115-122

[Article by V. Makhin: "Religion in the Ideological Arsenal of Anticommunism"]

[Text] In our day bourgeois propaganda is no longer capable of counterposing any constructive alternative to the victorious march of the ideas of socialism and is incapable of formulating any integral ideological system which could compete with Marxism-Leninism in terms of the power of its positive impact on the masses. Under these conditions the ideologists of present-day anticommunism are attempting increasingly often to make use of religious slogans in their psychological warfare against real socialism and in their attempts to keep the capitalist countries' working people's masses under the influence of the bourgeoisie. This should come as no surprise. As an essentially perverted form of perception of the world, religion is the ideological antagonist of the truly scientific, Marxist-Leninist world outlook and still exerts, furthermore, an appreciable influence on the minds of broad strata of the population in various countries. An important part, from the viewpoint of the figures of anticommunism, is also played by the fact that religion is the sole non-Marxist ideology which in all socialist countries has lawfully existing establishments and which, by virtue of this, can be openly counterposed to the predominant communist world outlook there.

The factors prompting anticommunist propaganda to make increasingly extensive use of religion in the present-day ideological struggle are not concealed even by the strategists of ideological warfare against real socialism themselves. "We can operate with the greatest efficiency by way of the church. The church is important for us. This is the easiest and most dependable method of penetrating a country," Allan Dreyfus, CIA ideological sabotage expert, *inter alia*, confided.

Imperialist circles and special services together with clerical anticommunists have created in the West dozens of subversive organizations operating under "devout" camouflage. In the United States, for example, these include the Center for Study of Religion and the Church in Closed Societies, in the FRG the Christian Eastern Mission and a number of other similar organizations, in Britain the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism, in Sweden the Slavonic Mission, in Switzerland the Belief in a

Second World Institute and so forth. All these subversive establishments have their own press organs, use the bourgeois radio stations and attempt to smuggle anti-Marxist literature in "devout" wrapping and even duplicating equipment into our country.

Together with the said "research" centers an anticommunist policy is also pursued in open or disguised form by such large-scale international church organizations as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the World Union of Synagogues and also the Muslim Brotherhood, the World Islamic League and a number of other reactionary Islamic associations.

We will try to give the readers an idea of the scale of anticommunist propaganda conducted under the cover of religion on the basis of the example of the activity of numerous Vatican services and organizations, which still influence broad masses of Catholic working people to one extent or another.

The anticommunist propaganda conducted by the Vatican is characterized by particular subtlety, an active endeavor to adapt to the changing historical conditions and a variety of methods and forms of subversive activity aimed against the socialist world.

Thus since approximately the start of the 1960's the papacy has been attempting to switch from tactics of the open excommunication of communists typical of the pontificate (terms of office) of Pius XII and his predecessors to more flexible (although essentially no less hostile to socialism) tactics taking account of the leftward movement of the masses in the West and the increased authority of the socialist community in the international arena. Typical in this respect is a pronouncement of the main press organ of the Jesuits (who, incidentally, are practically in charge of Radio Vatican also)--the Rome journal CIVILTA CATTOLICA (Catholic Civilization). "Communism cannot be destroyed with the political cudgel," it wrote. "The Catholic world must seek ways to increase its influence on the minds and hearts of working people."

At the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church (1962-1965) representatives of the "reform" circles managed to gain the upper hand over the conservative-traditionalists--supporters of the former dogmatic archreactionary policy. The successors of Pius XII, John XXIII (1958-1963) and the new Pope elected during the council, Paul VI (1963-1978), attempted to reconcile the two hostile church factions, which was reflected in documents and declarations adopted by the council--the so-called "outlines" and "constitutions". It was these which formed the basis of the modernization of the social doctrine and political line of international Catholicism which began following the council and which came to be called "aggiornamento" (Italian for "renewal," "modernization").

One such church reform was the abandonment of the indiscriminate anathematization of atheists and the call for a dialogue with them. For this the council proposed the creation in the Vatican of a special body--the so-called Secretariat for Nonbelievers' Affairs--which was established

in 1965. This new papal department controls the activity of analogous national secretariats subsequently founded in 18 countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa and in Australia. However, in practice the "Secretariat" aspired and continues to aspire not so much to a dialogue as its use in the interests of the church hierarchy and preservation of the positions of religion. The "aggiornamento" policy represented a transition to new, more flexible and disguised methods of combating progressive, scientific ideas. It was with good reason that, closing the Second Vatican Council in 1975, Pope Paul VI noted in his closing remarks that the church would have to implement its decisions under the most difficult conditions "of a world that has changed and continues to change" and "to counteract the offensive of Godless atheism."

The growth of the aggressive intrigues of imperialism and the stimulation of the opponents of detente have been reflected in the Vatican's policy also. The present head of the Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II (former Archbishop of Cracow, Cardinal Karol Wojtyla), as distinct from his predecessors, has occupied a considerably more conservative, hardline position in respect to the socialist world. In the first years of his term in office even the new Pope has had time to visit a number of key regions of the world (North, Central and South America, a number of European countries, the Near East, Equatorial Africa and Southeast Asia), attempting to use these trips to strengthen the influence of the Catholic Church there. During his visit to the United States John Paul II laid it on thick when extolling it as some "model of Christian civilization" and made common cause with the initiators of the provocative antisocialist "defense of human rights" campaign. Of course, today's "deputy of St Peter" prefers in his essentially political utterances (and they are addressed to all Catholics of the world, that is, 600 million persons) to speak in the language of Christian homilies. Nonetheless, the class thrust of his speeches is obvious.

The events of recent years in people's Poland testify to the antisocialist activity of the reactionary forces of the Catholic Church. The notorious Solidarity, which became a symbol of the crisis provoked by the antisocialist forces on orders from across the ocean, was born not so much in the chaos of the disturbances which seized this country in the summer of 1980 as in the bosom of the church. Of course, the Polish Catholic clergy and episcopate are not united in respect to the events occurring in the country. Some of them are currently supporting the efforts of the people's power to normalize the situation in the country. Nonetheless, a considerable proportion of the priests is attempting to stir up the state of tension in the country.

The Catholic clergy's participation in the disturbances provoked on 13 June 1982 by counterrevolutionary elements in Gdansk and a number of other Polish cities may serve as an example of the clergyman's reactionary activity. Their instigators operated, as is known, in accordance with the orders and instructions which were broadcast day and night in Polish by VOA and Radio Free Europe and subsequently disseminated in leaflets by certain Solidarity activists who had gone underground. In Gdansk here the disturbances were

unleashed by crowds of youths which poured out following mass from the city's two biggest churches. The outrages in Nowa Huta and Wroclaw began similarly. According to the Polish press, that day the Sunday homilies, despite the fog-enveloped phraseology typical of the priests, were extremely transparent in inciting the flock, mainly callow youth, not only against the martial law which had been introduced in the country for well-known reasons but also against the socialist system. "The places of worship," the newspaper DZIENNIK BALTYCKY wrote in this connection, "have been turned into premises for mob gatherings and briefings and a refuge for those opposed to order. The church is being pulled into the orbit of active political activity."

Poland is not the sole target of the Vatican's subversive activity. Since the very first days of the existence of Soviet power the Holy See has set its ramified international machinery in the Central and East European countries the task of enlisting Russia in the sphere of its influence. The Eastern Churches Congregation was established for this purpose back in 1917. Since that time it has been training and dispatching to East Europe "specialists" in the propaganda of Catholicism and the Catholicization of the Eastern Slav, that is, Russians, Ukrainians and Belourussians. Cadres of these "specialists" are trained by a system of Vatican educational institutions (the Papal Eastern Institute in Rome, the "Truth" Institute in Paris, the Papal Ukrainian Seminary in Rome, the Russicum College there and others). The Congregation organizes various anti-Soviet committees and centers which look after traitors to the motherland who fled to the West after WWII and is attempting to cobble together from these a clerical-anticommunist bloc.

The Center for the Study of Marxism, which develops arguments and new methods of counteracting the increasing influence of the ideas of socialism, was organized in 1969 under the auspices of the Gregorian University in Rome. Another similar establishment--the Institute for the Study of Atheism--was created in February 1977 under the auspices of another papal university--the Urbanian. And an atheism commission, which is intended, in accordance with papal direction, to combat the scientific-materialist world outlook, operates under the auspices of the Catholic Order of Jesuits.

The Vatican services also assign an important place in their ideological sabotage aimed against the peoples of the socialist community, primarily against the Soviet people, to the smuggling of subversive literature printed under sham apolitical and devout headings. The "Life With God" Publishing House located in the Belgian capital and belonging to the Holy See serves as its main supplier. It specializes in the publication of pseudoreligious, but essentially anticommunist literature in Russian intended for dispatch to the USSR. It attempts to substantiate the imaginary superiority of Christianity to "Godless Marxism" and slanderously distorts the position of religion and the church in the Soviet country.

A specific feature of religious ideology which attracts the special attention of the strategists of psychological warfare against the socialist community is its sham "supraclass nature". The religious homily, designed

as an appeal "to all brothers in the faith without distinction," facilitates bourgeois ideology's penetration of people's minds in a religious wrapping. This is employed extensively by our ideological enemies to undermine the ideological-political, social and international cohesion of the socialist society.

Religious propaganda serves to justify for the anticomunist-clericals the stability of the capitalist system as "divine" power and condemnation of its revolutionary transformation. Their prescriptions for a solution of burning social problems are counterposed to the "Godless communist way". Religion and the church are proclaimed the true custodians of national culture and distinctiveness. Soviet democracy is censured and the real position of the church and believers in the socialist community countries is maliciously distorted on the pretext of "defense and the faith". Opposed to the policy of peaceful coexistence, anticomunist figures are endeavoring to undermine the process of the relaxation of international tension. Passing themselves off as defenders of religion, they intimidate believers with the "peril of damnation" which allegedly threatens mankind on the part of the motherland of socialism and emanates from the power of "apostates" and persecutors of Christians". How can we not in this connection recall V. I. Lenin's words: "When the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined and weakens, the bourgeoisie has /always and everywhere/ [boldface] resorted and will resort to the most desperate lies and slander" ("Complete Works", vol 25, p 352).

Of course, anticomunist, including clerical, propaganda is incapable of shaking the moral-political unity of our society and the Soviet people's cohesion around the CPSU. It must not be forgotten, however, that poisonous seeds are still producing shoots in the minds, words and deeds of certain persons, particularly religious extremists, who are still present among the several dozen confessions (religious beliefs) which exist in the USSR. The organizers of ideological sabotage orient the leaders of such extremist grouplets toward the isolation of believers from socialist reality. As an alternative to the Soviet way of life, which is the most humane in the world, such unbridled fanatics and malevolents cultivate among people who have succumbed to their influence all kinds of fanatical rituals and prohibitions.

This is particularly characteristic of so-called Baptist "initiates", extreme Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and the ["pokutniki"]--a group of supporters of the so-called "Ukrainian Catholic" or Uniate Church.

In the winter of 1980, for example, these nationalists and fanatics forced a young resident of Drogobych, Mariya Kuts, to undergo a "trial" in an icehole and kept her in the icy water for approximately 2 hours. As a result the feet of the "newly converted" were frostbitten, and in order to save her life they had to be amputated. The initiator of and a participant in this crime was the [pokutnicheskiy] activist and former Bandera follower, Skalych, from whom was confiscated upon his arrest much Uniate literature and more than 700 anti-Soviet and bourgeois-nationalist pieces of doggerel smuggled in from the West.

There are also instances of religious extremists, particularly leaders of certain Jehovah's Witness communities, forcing draftees to refuse to perform the sacred duty of each USSR citizen—defense of the fatherland in the ranks of our motherland's armed forces.

The hackneyed anticommunist stereotype of "persecution for one's belief" and the "flouting" of freedom of belief in the USSR and the other socialist countries serve as the trump card of the religious ideological saboteurs. "There is probably no aspect of Soviet life which has been so slandered and distorted as the attitude of the Soviet state and the Communist Party toward religion and the church," the progressive American current-affairs writer Betty Gannet wrote in this connection.

How in reality is the principle of freedom of belief exercised under the conditions of developed socialism?

Article 52 of the USSR Constitution says: "USSR citizens are guaranteed freedom of belief, that is, the right to confess any religion or not to confess any and to conduct religious worship or atheist propaganda. The incitement of hostility and hatred in connection with religious beliefs is prohibited.

"The church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church."

Article 34 of the USSR Constitution emphasizes that USSR citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of their attitude toward religion, in all spheres of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Incidentally, this is the most consummate and complete of all constitutional wordings of the principle of freedom of belief. After all, bourgeois legislation essentially limits freedom of belief, interpreting it only as freedom to choose a religious belief, but not as freedom for atheism. "The free confession and performance of the ceremonies of all religious beliefs and any kind of worship are permitted everyone for always," article 7 of the constitution of the state of New York says, for example. "Not to coerce and not to permit the coercion of any belief whatever but to protect everyone in the free confession of religion inasmuch as this does not disturb social calm or offend public morality," article 16 of the law on the form of state government of Sweden's constitution proclaims.

As we see, bourgeois constitutions do not guarantee the right to be an atheist and to conduct antireligious propaganda. In addition, the very fact of speaking against religion is regarded as a crime. In 16 of the 50 states of the United States atheist propaganda is punished by a fine of \$30 to \$1,000 or up to 3 years' imprisonment. In many Western countries people who are known for their atheist views are not permitted to hold state and administrative office. "No one denying the existence of God," the constitution of the state of Arkansas (United States) proclaims, for example, "can hold office in state establishments and cannot be allowed to testify in court."

Under the conditions of socialism there are no social forces with an interest in preserving and supporting religion. The highest goal of the Communist Party is the unswerving upsurge of people's material well-being and cultural level, the increasingly full satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements and the creation of the necessary conditions for the all-around development of the personality. This goal is being achieved not by placing hopes in the will of Providence but by Soviet people's selfless labor under the leadership of the Communist Party. Life itself is contributing to freeing the consciousness from the fetters of religion, which diverts citizens' thoughts and energy toward illusory, false goals.

Of course, in such a short space of time on a historical scale as 65 years not all Soviet people have been able to rid themselves of vestiges of the past. In particular, there is still a certain percentage of believers among the population in our society. And the law guarantees them satisfaction of their religious requirements.

There are representatives of approximately 40 religious directions in the USSR altogether: Orthodox, Old Believers, Catholics, Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Lutherans, Mennonites, Seventh Day Adventists and others and also devotees of Islam, Buddhism and Judaism. They all enjoy the right to create confessional associations, at whose disposal are over 20,000 places of worship (churches, Roman Catholic churches, houses of prayer, Protestant churches, mosques, synagogues, Buddhist temples and so forth). "Religious associations of believer citizens of all religions are registered in the form of religious societies and groups of believers," states the Religious Associations' decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee and RSFSR Council of People's Commissars of 8 April 1929 and with the changes and amplifications made by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Edict of 23 June 1975, says in this connection. "Religious societies have the right to acquire church equipment and items of religious worship and transport facilities and to lease, build and purchase buildings for their needs in the established legal procedure...."

Confessional associations in the USSR have the right to publish religious literature (the Bible, the Koran, ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII, the journals PRAVOSLAVNIY VISNIK, BRATSKIY VESTNIK, MUSUL'MANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA and BOGOSLOVSKIYE TRUDY, prayer books, church calendars and so forth), hold congregations, meetings and congresses, elect their leading authorities at these, establish contacts with foreign organizations and participate in the activity of international confessional associations.

Religious associations in the USSR maintain regular and frequent contacts with foreign churches, receiving from and sending to them up to 150 delegations annually. The world conference "Religious Figures of the World Against Nuclear Catastrophe", which was convened at the suggestion of the Russian Orthodox Church, was held in May 1982 in Moscow. Among its 590 participants from 90 countries on all continents were representatives of various Christian religions and also Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Judaists

and others. The conference adopted a number of documents and appeals in defense of the "sacred gift of life" and peace on earth and supported the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at a halt to the arms race and at disarmament.

Many of its participants attested to the strict observance of the principles of freedom of belief in the USSR. Thus Billy Graham, the prominent Baptist preacher from the United States, who had come as an observer and who is well known for his anticommunist views, emphasized, in answer to correspondents' questions, that he had been convinced of this with his own eyes, having visited several places of worship and communities of different faiths. Whereas in a number of capitalist countries, Britain and Japan, for example, the American minister observed, such freedom is severely restricted. In general, however, he added, freedom of religious demonstration cannot be unlimited, and there is no state where it is not regulated by laws.

In a word, better to see once than hear a hundred times, as they say. Thus the truth of our life and Soviet reality itself refute the slanderous inventions of the enemies of socialism.

Our ideological opponents are attempting to prove that the establishment in a society of an atheist world outlook inevitably leads to an undermining of the spiritual foundations of man's existence and his moral degradation. In destroying religion, atheism, they declare, gives people nothing in exchange for atheism is a spiritual void. Currently anticommunist propaganda is being addressed increasingly to the proposition of the alleged inseparable connection which exists between a nation's religion and culture, attempting to portray the struggle against religious notions as a struggle against national traditions and as cultural nihilism.

It should be emphasized that our party has never reduced atheistic work merely to a denial of the religious picture of the world, religious morals and social doctrines. In refuting any belief in supernatural powers and the system of spiritual values based thereon scientific atheism counterposes to them the sole scientific, Marxist world outlook and the communist value system ensuing therefrom. It is our duty to actively disseminate communist ideology and morality. This is a task of extraordinary urgency. A number of sociological studies conducted in different parts of our country testifies that, *inter alia*, although the vast majority of Soviet people has now abandoned religion, many of them have not yet become convinced materialists.

V. I. Lenin's precise instructions serve as the guiding star for the ideological worker here. "Man needs an ideal," he observed in the "Philosophy Notebooks," "but a human ideal corresponding to nature, not a supernatural one..." (vol 29, p 56). Religion, on the other hand, is capable of providing only illusory, apparent comfort. It paralyzes the will and turns the believer into a submissive, inert and passive being incapable of struggling for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Another most important Leninist principle of scientific-atheistic upbringing is tact, politeness and an individual approach. "It is necessary to struggle against religious prejudice with exceptional caution," V. I. Lenin warned, "for much harm is caused by those who introduce to this struggle the wounding of religious feelings. It is necessary to struggle by way of propaganda and by way of education. In introducing piquancy to the struggle we might embitter the masses; such a struggle increases the division of the masses on the religious principle, our strength, however, lies in unity" (vol 37, p 186). These ideas of Lenin's permeate party documents determining the tasks of atheistic educational work in our time. "We cannot fail to take into consideration the fact that there are also citizens who while participating actively in the life of the country and honorably performing their civic duty to the motherland are still influenced by a variety of religious beliefs. The party has always demanded and will continue to demand a sensitive, attentive attitude toward these believers. Having political doubts about this Soviet citizen or the other because of his religious beliefs is all the more stupid and harmful.... As the facts testify, the majority of ministers of the church also now occupies loyal positions with respect to Soviet power" ("The CPSU in Resolutions...", Moscow, 1971, vol 6, pp 517 518).

Of course, this does not mean that now, in the era of developed socialism, when our society has become a society of mass atheism, we can rest on our laurels, so to speak, in the confidence that belief in God will die away of its own accord as the generations change.

It must not be forgotten that the reproduction of religious consciousness continues even under our conditions, although on an immeasurable smaller scale than before the revolution. And this is occurring more often than not, not so much as a result of the church or sectarian sermons as through believer families. In the sphere of traditions and customs the position of religion has far from been undermined conclusively, among the reasons for this being the inadequate development of the system of new, civic, socialist ceremonies, a shortage of the appropriate personnel and the weakness of the material base of our ritual services.

Yet it is as yet far from always and everywhere that the party committees are paying due attention to questions of atheistic education. Nor have instances of a liberal attitude disappeared, not only toward the communists and Komsomol members who disregard this statutory duty of displaying irreconcilability toward religious ideology but even those of them who sometimes themselves participate, if only passively, in church ceremonies conducted by believers relatives or friends. "What of this?" can sometimes be heard in reply. "After all, he himself (the communist, Komsomol member--V.M.) does not believe in God, he himself is an atheist."

We would recall in this connection that in our society, where the social roots of religion were undermined long since, church ceremonial remains, together with the influence on a child of believer parents, one of the few factors which are slowing down the process of the disappearance of religiosity. This is why the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Further

"Improvement in Ideological and Political Education" (1979) once again draws attention to the need "to increase the responsibility of communists and Komsomol members in the struggle against religious prejudice."

It must be remembered that religion does not die away of its own accord even in our society. And this is explained not only by the strength of traditions and habits (the historical roots of religion) but also by certain people's inclination to seek illusory comfort in belief in God in the event of some personal unpleasantness or severe illness (the psychological roots of religion). Church and sectarian activists are literally hunting for life's failures or people who have lost their health and initially surround them with sanctimonious concern and attention--in short, do anything to entice a new "brother" or "sister" into the community. And, let's face it, such "concern" is sometimes capable of winning the sympathies of people hit by misfortune.

This fact has to be taken into account. Atheistic education cannot confine itself to a criticism of religion and the shaping of a scientific-materialist world outlook and also the exposure of our enemies' attempts to use belief in God for anticommunist purposes. It is essential that it also incorporate a struggle for a sensitive, attentive attitude toward man and intolerance of all relapses into heartlessness, callousness and bureaucratism.

This article has dealt mainly with the attempts to use religion for reactionary political ends--attempts which are being practised increasingly extensively today by imperialism and its propaganda and other services and also the numerous clerical-anticommunist organizations fulfilling their orders. None of this means, of course, that religion and anti-Sovietism can be equated.

Yes, Marxism-Leninism rejects in principle any religion as a variety and extreme manifestation of an antiscientific idealistic world outlook, but neither the Communist Party nor the Soviet state have waged nor are they now waging a /political/ [boldface] struggle against this dogma or the other and its representatives, as long as they do not in their sermons and activity go beyond the framework of legislation governing religious worship.

It is quite a different matter when religion, as mentioned earlier, plays the part of a weapon in "psychological warfare". A class approach to the complex and complicated phenomenon which religion remains enables us to define our attitude toward believers and ministers of any persuasion, the vast majority of whom, incidentally, does not wish to have anything in common with the intrigues of ideological saboteurs, whatever garb they don.

Imperialism and its special services, including those operating under a religious screen, will not succeed in undermining the growing authority of Marxism-Leninism and real socialism and also the unity of all working people in the struggle for man's bright future--communism.

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INTERNATIONAL

PONOMAREV ADDRESSES GREEK-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP MEETING IN ATHENS

PM221537 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 82 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA, TASS correspondents report: "Based on Firm Foundations"]

[Text] Athens, 18 Dec--A ceremonial meeting of the Greek public devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation has taken place here. The meeting, which was organized on the initiative of the Greek-Soviet society, was addressed by B. N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Athens as leader of the CPSU delegation to the 11th Communist Party of Greece Congress.

Conveying warm, cordial greetings to those present and to all the society's activists from Soviet people, B. N. Ponomarev stressed that the Soviet Union and Greece are linked by long, long years of friendly relations. So it was in the 1920's, when Russia helped Greece to win freedom and independence. So it was during World War II, when the Soviet Union, routing Hitlerite Nazism and its accomplices, helped the Greek people to free themselves from the fascist yoke. Our country is prepared to continue to develop relations of good-neighbornliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with Greece.

B. N. Ponomarev went on to speak of the results of the 60 years of development of the Soviet Union--the first multinational socialist state in the history of mankind. The path we traveled, he said, was neither simple nor easy. New problems which nobody had ever resolved in history and which, frankly, were far from simple had to be resolved. But today we can say with pride that many of the main, great goals which the creators of our state, headed by the great Lenin, set themselves have been reached.

Our country has created in practice a real socialist society which totally excludes any exploitation of man by man and where everything is permeated with the spirit of cooperation between working people, the spirit of collectivism. Our country has created a society of true democracy--democracy in the true sense of the word. In Greek the word "democracy" means "people's power." Precisely such power exists in our country. Lastly, our country has created a society of the highest culture. A culture incorporating all the achievements of past eras and enriching them with the talent and traditions of all our country's peoples.

Some people in the West are always looking for a crisis in socialism. Well, we will have to disappoint them profoundly; they will never see a crisis in socialism!

Resting on the firm foundations laid by decades of socialist development, our country is now seeking to speed up its progress. Naturally, in order to successfully implement our plans we need lasting peace. The peace-loving policy which the Soviet land has pursued since the moment of the October Revolution arises from the very essence of our system. Despite what our ideological opponents say, the USSR does not seek to intimidate every one and does not threaten anyone.

True, the U.S. ruling circles keep talking about the Soviet "military threat." All these and similar assertions rank as modern mythology. But unlike the ancient poets, its authors are by no means filled with a bright, life-asserting vision of the world. The primitive piling up of fantastic lies, slander and falsification like the malicious stories about "terrorism" on the part of socialist countries pursues the vilest goal: justifying preparations for the most criminal act of all those that mankind has known--the unleashing of thermonuclear war.

Today, B. N. Ponomarev said in conclusion, at a time when U.S. and NATO militarist forces are preparing highly dangerous new plans which intensify the threat of war and are forging more and more new weapons for destroying people, we Soviet people, join the struggle against the threat of war! Let us strive to reliably ensure man's first right--the right to life!

The meeting was also addressed by Ye. V. Zaytsev, first deputy chairman of the board of the "USSR-Greece" Friendship Society and RSFSR first deputy minister of culture, E. Yiannopoulos, deputy president of the Greek-Soviet Society and Greek minister of labor, and others.

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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET CENTER FOR ACQUISITION OF RUSSIAN MATERIALS ABROAD PROPOSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 12 Jan 83 p 6

[Article by Maksim Ivanov: "But there is a Single Homeland for Them, Relics of our National Culture Abroad"]

[Text] He laid them out in a fan shape upon the table: Small amateur photographs, dozens of colored illustrations. A passing glance at them was sufficient to immediately understand the valuable things about which this respectable man was discussing in detail and at length. It is as if his life had been divided in two. He was not able to remain a Russian, for he was used to living differently than we do here, at the same time he could not completely become an American. It was a foreign land in any case - a stepmother.

He is not rich, but he has a prestigious, as he puts it, job at one of the film studios. Once a year he tries to visit the place where he was born and grew up, Rostov. However, very little remains of the Rostov which is imprinted in his childhood memory.

It is hard to say if there was anything accidental or not in his fate, in our conversation, and in these colored photographs, behind each of which was the astonishing fate of a work of art. The one nearest to the edge of the table was of a work by Aivasovsky, "The New World" ("The Land of Columbus"). One could distinguish the signature on the original: "Aivasovsky, 1899".

The setting sun lights up three huge galleons and a small ship's boat is moving towards the shore with people aboard. The rose colored setting sun and the rose-green sea were characteristic color combinations for Aivasovsky, he didn't become entangled with any others. What an astonishing impression even a photograph of this painting makes!

Among the snapshots laid out in a fan were works of Kuindzhi, "Ukrainian Night", an excellent variation of a well known canvas by Polenov "Christ and the Sinners", two brush portraits by Kramskiy (male and female), Klever, a small statute by Konenkov "Pan Playing Pipes". Even a few of these works would be the pride of any state collection. However, it turned out that not one of these works which were seen here had been returned to the place where by right they should be located.

I would like to relate a little history which is not at all similiar to this first story.

It is Lvov in 1941. Almost immediately upon the occupation of the city by the fascists a smartly dressed SS officer appeared in office of the director. Bowing slightly to the director, he silently put some sort of paper on the desk. This paper is now preserved, along with similar documents in the file of the former director. On the upper part of it is the rubber stamp impression: General Administration. General Governor. Somewhat below it is broken Ukrainian is written: "I approve the removal of the following objects from the state picture gallery." At the bottom, verifying all this was the round stamp: "Bermbeck, Consultant to the Governor".

"Upon the basis of this signature six paintings of the Italian and German schools were removed from the gallery." Explained the present director of the gallery Boris Grigor'yevich Vosnitskiy.

Alas, this action was not the only one, as associates at the museum initially hoped. The robbery, embellished in the form of law (a certificate was produced for every removal) continued on an ever growing scale. Priceless pictures decorated the dwelling of the governor, his room in department "Zhorzh, the casino, the apartment of Lieutenant General Beitl, and others. From the gallery alone a total of 229 works of masters of art from the 16th to the 20th Centuries were stolen. Among the most valuable of them were a self-portrait of Rembrandt, a portrait of Isabella, the Austrian work of Jan Gossart, and a Rubens canvas "Shepherd and Shepherdess".

These splendid things were stolen from the Ossolinium Museum in Lvov by the fascists. They include the unique collection of Albrecht Dürer's drawings (27 priceless sheets).

After the fascists captured Lvov, the confiscated drawings were sent to Goering, who, in turn gave them to Hitler for the "Führer Museum" in Linz. According to the evidence of Rut and Max Zeidewitz, German writers and public activists involved in the problems of searching for paintings stolen by the fascists, after the war the drawings by Dürer were sent to a warehouse set up by the Americans especially to store art objects. Then the Americans sold the Dürer drawings, to which they had no legal rights, to a private individual, who, in turn sold them in auctions in Switzerland. The Dürer drawings, and the priceless Lvov collection were scattered among private collections and some museums in Western nations. Where are they today? It turns out that some of them are in the Metropolitan Museum in America.

"Even according to bourgeois law their rightful place is in Lvov." Fervently stated the writer V. Osokin, who has devoted much effort to the search for and return of our national treasures located beyond the borders of the homeland. In the United States itself there are laws on the uncompensated return of stolen property to its rightful owner, irrespective of the arguments of the possessor of the stolen property as to its supposed legal acquisition and ignorance at the time of acquisition of the fact that the property was stolen.

Finally, there is a declaration signed by the three Great Powers (USSR, USA, and Great Britain) on 5 January 1943 and published in Moscow, Washington, and London, which concerns questions of cultural objects belonging to other peoples which were seized by the fascists during the war. One of the points which were obligatory to all states: "The thieves or persons later acquiring the art objects should, after the termination of the war, return them to the injured party."

However, there are hundreds of unreturned stolen art objects from Lvov alone.

The first and the second episodes related are two examples of a large and extremely complex problem. This is the problem of finding, studying, accounting for, and, if possible returning to their homeland those items which morally and legally should belong only here, in the USSR, in museums and repositories in Lvov, Kharkov, Leningrad, Odessa, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, and other places. It is just for this reason that I have dwelt on these episodes in such detail.

I will give some figures. The writer Yu. Semenov, telling in a PRAVDA interview about his new work involving items stolen by the fascists during the Great Patriotic War, talks about 330,000 works of art (think about this figure!), not returned by the West to our museums and picture galleries. Also, what valuable items went abroad during the emigration from the Republic of Soviets of the majority of those who stood at the helm of the former power.

Once again we turn to history and take a quite short excursion into the last century and the century before last. Recall the Russian Orthodox churches and monasteries built by the empire in almost every part of the world. Highly valuable items were sent to these places from Russia. At many of these religious institutions (in Turkey, Athos, in Jerusalem, and in the Sinai) the pride and glory of unknown Russian craftsmen are now in catastrophic condition, and priceless masterpieces are practically without care!

So far we have dwelt only on the fine arts. Now, take, for example the precious books of Athos, Iveronsk, and Pantheleimonovsk Monasteries. For ages these historical religious centers have had firm cultural ties with Russia, and are undoubtedly in need of serious scientific study.

Today these treasures are, to put it bluntly, protected by monks who have outlived their era.

Z. V. Udal'tsova, president of the Russian Palestine Society, explains. "To state it simply, there has been no accounting of the books, some of which are several centuries old, to say nothing of their scientific study. Priceless manuscripts, copies, and scrolls are being ruined not only and not even so much by fires and neglect, but by the complete lack of readers. The pages of old volumes, among which are perhaps fragments of "The Lay of Igor's Campaign" have not been turned for hundreds of years. They become stuck together and the books are ruined. They do not get enough human attention and warm hands. There is similar disorder at Saint Catherine's Monastery. It was only quite recently that its precious book collection was opened to access by scholars (the first of them were Americans). After all, the Sinai is at least as important in a scientific sense as Athos, and, of course, we have studied it less. It is probable that much awaits the attentive scholar, perhaps surprising finds."

One could talk for a long time about the fate of these paintings, books, porcelains, icons, and decorative art objects. Their paths abroad were different and their histories, if they themselves could tell them, would sound like detective stories. Even what we know about items which have been stolen, abandoned and neglected items is a small share of what we should know. Only a quite small percentage of these items are available for viewing by Soviet citizens. As a rule, we become acquainted with them by accident.

Would it be possible just to make an accounting of those items which initially belonged to our culture, but which are now abroad?

Back in the prewar years (and then everything was much more difficult) V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich was working on this problem. He had a well organized project for the study of monuments to Russian culture abroad. This involved not only state, but also private collections. There is thus definite experience, it is only necessary to make use of it.

"Is it possible? It not only is possible, but essential!" This is the opinion of Academician Boris Aleksandrovich Rybakov, with whom I succeeded in talking about this problem.

"Not acquainted with the depth of the problem, probably our scholars must more carefully weigh all the legal aspects." Boris Aleksandrovich noted. "However, I can assert without a doubt that this is a most important problem for us. For the cultural value of the objects created in our homeland and now scattered throughout the entire world is truly huge. I could support my words with more than one example."

The accounting problem is one part of the general problem of returning the items and no doubt requires a state approach. It has become urgently necessary to set up a system and organization which would enlist and direct the efforts of thousands of volunteers in this fine undertaking, both from our country and among those Russians whom the forces of fate have scattered throughout the entire world but who might be able to participate in this work.

According to data from U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, in the United States alone there are about 2.5 million people who consider themselves Russian. This example was given to me by G. V. Gorshkov, chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Society for Cultural Ties with Compatriots Abroad (the "Rodina" Society). It would be naive, and more than that, harmful, to assume that the majority of them are "Ivans, not remembering their kinship." Their support in this huge problem of accounting for our national sacred things would be inestimable.

It doesn't pay to predetermine the final organizational forms that this work would assume: The problem requires special and thorough study. However, even today, as many are convinced, the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture, and the "Rodina" Society could and should considerably increase their contribution to it."

The main thing is that practical, daily, and urgent work is essential. Its results will be beneficial to our entire society. This is the viewpoint of S. O. Shmidt, doctor of history, and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Archeological Commission, and historian V. L. Yanin, correspondent member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

I would like to end with a story about people who, even they are thousands of kilometers from their homeland, and in spite of some hard blows that fate at times delivered, were able to remain patriots at heart. These include the collector Karpinskiy from Finland. He gave the memorial museum in Kuokkala several canvases of Repin. The artist Shishmintsev from San Francisco willed his paintings to the city in which we was born -- Kurgan. The son of the well known early 20th Century Russian artist and the inventor of the world's first color-optophone upright piano Baranov-Rossine gave his father's instrument, which prior to that had been exhibited for a few years at the Pompidou Center in Paris, to the Museum of Musical Culture imeni Glinka. Recently the daughter of the artist Feshin arrived in Kazan from the United States. Feshin had spent the last years of his life in emigration. In Kazan she carried out her father's last will: The burial of an urn containing his ashes in his native land, along the banks of the Volga, and as a gift to his native city, our compatriot from the US gave 14 of his works. There are other similar examples. One of them is a history of a canvas by an unusual "trio" of artists: Korovin, Klodt, and Serov.

I have known about this painting, a portrait of F.I. Shalyapin, for a long time. The son of the great singer, Fedor Fedorovich Shalyapin, living in Italy explained in detail the history of its creation.

In one of these interviews in the fall of 1978 I decided to ask F. F. Shalyapin whether or not it was morally the cultural property of our nation. Wouldn't he return Shalyapin to his homeland?

"I will." Fedor Fedorovich firmly answered. "For a long time I have wanted to do that."

Some time after that he handed over the excellent portrait of his father to the USSR Ministry of Culture.

However, this and other gifts (In October 1981 F. F. Shlyapin gave the homeland several canvases of gifted Russian painters from the family collection -- V. Serov, K. Korovin, I. Levitan) simply could not have taken place if at that time there had not existed a center of "attraction" such as the F. I. Shalyapin House being restored in Moscow, on the former Novinskiy Boulevard.

It is a completely possible task to create such a center, not a narrowly memorial one but a general state center. This is a problem for the immediate future. Our national art works which are forgotten and sometimes rotting abroad require help, some of them need it urgently.

The photographs which one of our foreign compatriots showed me will not leave my memory. The items are all in several private collections in New York.

We then talked long and thoroughly about the possibility of returning these things to their homeland. It seemed that everything had been agreed upon, having discussed the various alternatives of handing over the priceless paintings as a

gift to our nation. It was easy to carry out the requirements of the donor: The attribution to the donor on the painting. However, when the discussion came to which hall should house the painting, the requirements of a scholarly description of the collection, and the publication of a catalogue, the discussion quickly entered a blind alley. Once again I thought about the creation of a unified center which, combining the efforts of specialists, would be able to operationally (and sometimes this is very important) solve all these problems, which are not simple, but on the other hand not too complex.

The only thing that we were able to do during our last meeting was to transfer the masterpieces to a special album created for such cases, which, of course, is rarely seen. I think that Aivasovsky's "New World" deserves more.

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NATIONAL

IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON RELIGION IN COUNTRY SUBJECT OF NEW BOOK

Moscow FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 82 pp 177-180

/Review by E. G. Filimonov, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent, Institute of Scientific Atheism, Academy of Social Sciences, and G. M. Filist, candidate of philosophical sciences, Brest State Pedagogical Institute imeni A. S. Pushkin, of book "Urbanizatsiya, Ateism, Religiya" / "Urbanization, Atheism, Religion" by V. A. Saprykin, Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, 1981, 286 pages/

/Text/ The thorough theoretical elaboration of the mutual effects and influences of the processes of urbanization and secularization is one of the pressing problems in the theory and practice of scientific atheism.

Urbanization, a multifaceted social and economic process, has assumed unprecedented scales and rates in the modern world. It entails the concentration, intensification and differentiation of production, promotes the formation of a new population structure and the spread of the urban way of life, which is characterized by specific forms of communication, culture and a system of values. All these changes cannot help but have an effect upon social consciousness and psychology, including religion. The facts indicate that urbanization has an intense and profound effect upon religious consciousness and church activity. It is now one of the operational factors in the secularization process.

The creation of a general theory of secularization -- one of the global processes in the development of contemporary society -- requires a thorough analysis of all the objective conditions and subjective factors affecting this process, and a precise understanding of the place and role of social factors assisting in the liberation of society and the individual from the influence of religion and the church.

The book under review is one of the first philosophical and sociological studies of this subject. The author strives for a comprehensive study of the problem, which is at the interface of several sciences: Philosophy, sociology, economic geography, history, demography, social psychology, city planning, and others. The task which V. A. Saprykin has posed for himself is the analysis of the influence of the city and urban social relations on the secularization process, the discovery of the principle difference between socialist and capitalist urbanization, and the demonstration of the huge historic role which the socialist city has in overcoming religion and developing atheism, and in transforming our nation's socialist society to one in which a scientific and materialist world view prevails.

The problems which the author has posed are quite complex and little researched. The book uses rich documentary material, statistical data, and the results of many specific sociological investigations in which the author participated in Penza and in the cities of central Kazakhstan -- in Karaganda Oblast, one of the nation's highly urbanized regions (about 85% of the population here lives in cities). Based on a Marxist - Leninist methodology and upon the work of Soviet scholars, the author succeeds in revealing a number of features and patterns in the influence of urbanization upon the liberation of workers from religion and the church both in capitalist and socialist society.

V. A. Saprykin's monograph convincingly shows the contradictory character of the influence of capitalist urbanization upon secularization. Above all, as the focus of economic, political and spiritual life intensifying the social mobility of the population, and forming a qualitatively new type of culture, social psychology, and interaction, the capitalist city has a strong effect upon traditional forms of religious consciousness and activity linked to the narrow world of patriarchal rural society.

Unfortunately, the author does not show just how the traditional forms of religion are subjected to the influence of urbanization. Bourgeois sociologists note that these influences differ for various faiths. For example, Protestantism (both church and sect forms) as a bourgeois form of Christianity has been more successful in adapting to capitalist urbanization. This is supported, for example, by the history of religion and churches in the United States.

Under capitalist conditions urbanization sharpens intensifies that society's inherent internal contradictions (the growth of unemployment and crime, the increase in racial discrimination, a sharpening of the housing crisis, etc.). The social roots of religiosity, inherent to capitalism, inevitably lead to the reproduction and renewal or religiosity in new forms. Inculcated since early childhood through education in the fundamentals of the religious perception of the world and moral values, religion can exist in a hidden form. At times this breaks out in movements of religious renewal and is accompanied by massive turning to god and attacks of religious hysteria. Such religious revival movements are a characteristic feature of religious organizations in the United States, especially Methodists and Baptists, beginning in the 18th Century. The destruction of traditional forms of religion in the capitalist city brings to life, as the author notes, new "urbanized" religions (p. 58). The 60's and 70's of our century were marked by the appearance of new, nontraditional (neo-Christian, neo-Hindu, neo-Buddhist) churches and sects such as the Jesus movement, the Unification Church, International Society for Krishna Consciousness, and others located primarily in cities of the U.S. and many nations of Western Europe (Netherlands, France, Italy, FRG, Denmark, and others).

The author shows that in capitalist society the "main carrier of atheistic views is...the working class, and above all its progressive part -- the industrial (urban) group" (p. 65).

Of special interest in the book are sections which analyze the influence of socialist urbanization on the massive withdrawal of workers from religion, and the affirmation of a scientific and materialist world view in socialist society.

Urbanization in socialist society is fundamentally different from the analogous phenomenon in capitalist society. Its content and direction are closely linked to the socialist mode of production, and flow from the basis of the socialist social order. Under socialism the random nature of urban development is eliminated and urbanization becomes a directed process. It plays an important role in the liquidation of substantial differences between city and country.

The author shows that in all stages of Soviet society's development the socialist city played a major role in the process of liberating the workers from the churches and religion. In the author's opinion, in the socialist city there is an entire totality of socio-economic, socio-demographic, moral-psychological, and ideological-political factors causing a higher degree and pace of urban secularization.

Research conducted in the nation's cities in recent years shows that the level of religiosity among the urban population is one-half to two-thirds the level of the urban population. On the average in the cities believers make up 15-20% of the adult population, while for rural localities the figures are 30-35%.

V. A. Saprykin's monograph systematically examines the economic, social, and spiritual conditions for atheism's development in the socialist city. Industrial-economic potential, and the development of the productive forces and working class of the socialist city play a decisive role in the secularization process.

The development of atheism under the conditions of the socialist city is influenced not only by the concentration of scientific-technological potential and the vast socio-political experience of the masses, but also by such factors as the specific character and conditions of work in urban industrial production, scientific-technological progress, high levels of material and spiritual life, the presence of free time, and other factors (p. 108-109).

Social reasons for the retention of religious prejudices, such as the working masses ignorance and poverty, about which Lenin wrote in 1918, have now been put into the past everywhere. First place now belongs to the moral and psychological reasons for religiosity, which require careful study. Unfortunately, in the analytic process the author himself does not always give consideration to the complexity of the process of forming an atheistic world view in the socialist city. Here it is essential to have a more thorough sociological analysis of different groups in the urban population, since the secularization factors of the urban way of life affect them differently.

There is cause for doubt as to the author's assertion that one-fourth to one-third of the workers in the USSR "with respect to their level of education are not in a position to raise themselves to a complete and clear recognition of the dangers of religion and an understanding of atheism" (p 141). Historical experience shows that a recognition of the dangers of religion and a mastery of scientific-materialistic ideas by the working class depend not so much upon education as upon political consciousness, a class feeling, the practical experience of the worker and upon the degree of his inclusion in revolutionary and transformative activity. This applies even more to the Soviet worker.

V. A. Saprykin justly indicates the great secularizing significance of such objective social factors, especially apparent in the socialist city, as the internationalization of public life, the convergence of socialist nations, thorough changes in the structure and function of the urban family, and other factors. It is not clear why the work calls these factors social-psychological: Their effect is not just in the social-psychological aspect. Concurrently, one should deem too optimistic the author's assertion that in the city "it has become typical for children of believers to grow up as active atheists, consciously defending their convictions" (p. 149). Research in Belorussia in the second half of the 1970's shows that almost 50% of the recruits to urban sectarian communities were from the families of believers.

Frequently, in analyzing the influence of the urbanization process upon the population's relationship to church and religion, the examination is restricted to processes occurring in the socialist city. However, it should not be forgotten that the city has a diverse effect upon the countryside, including upon the spiritual lives of rural inhabitants, upon their value orientations and relationship to church and religion. In this regard one should stress the author's thought that "under conditions of developed socialism urbanization, in a social and spiritual sense is one of the most important facets of the elimination of the barrier between city and countryside" (p. 152). The book thoroughly reveals the economic, social, demographic, cultural, and other aspects of this influence.

The development of the virgin lands in Kazakhstan is a most vivid example of this. As L. I. Brezhnev noted in his book "Virgin Land", this was one of the greatest achievements of our party's agrarian policy, leading not only to the powerful development of productive forces in Kazakhstan and other republics but also to great social and spiritual changes. It is no accident that, as shown by sociological research, in the virgin land sovkhozes of Kustanay Oblast the average level of religiosity is 4.6%, while for the 18-40 year old age group the figure is 1%. Above all this is due to the fact that more than 96% of the virgin land rural population consists of mechanics and machinery operators. For each sovkhoz there are 23 agricultural specialists with secondary and higher educations.

In noting the consolidation of a scientific and materialistic world view in the socialist city, attention should be directed towards another process: Changes taking place in the religious consciousness and activity of religious organizations under the influence of socialist urbanization.

On page 170 the author writes that "the crisis phenomena, which have enveloped religious organizations in recent years, are manifested to a greater degree in the city". This assertion requires refinement. On the one hand, it cannot be doubted that in rural localities the level of religiosity is higher than in the cities. There is more religious participation and there are more churches than in the city (especially in the western regions). On the other hand religious organizations are more active in the city than in the countryside. The cities have the biggest churches and sectarian communities (for example, Baptists), into which young people with a higher educational level enter.

Church incomes are also considerably higher. It is no secret that because of the out-migration of the rural population to the cities the activities of rural parishes, especially Orthodox ones and sectarian communities have been markedly reduced. Many communities are on the edge of disintegration. The nation's western regions are the only exception.

The author thoroughly reveals new tendencies in the ideology and activity of religious organizations, especially sects, in the socialist city. He devotes attention to the modernization of religious ideology, the characteristics of the reproduction of vestiges in the city, and above all to the role of the religious microenvironment in this process.

In analyzing the effect of socialist urbanization on the liberation of all facets of society and the personality from religious influences, the author does not escape exaggeration, viewing the role of the city as "leading" in the "economic, social, and spiritual formation of a scientific and materialist atheistic world view" (p 167). Obviously, the leading role in this process belongs to the socialist social order, the Soviet way of life, socialist ideology and culture, and the multifaceted ideological work of the Communist Party and the Soviet state in educating the workers in the spirit of a scientific and materialist world view. Among such exaggerations one should also include the author's judgement as to the "empiricism of the rural population's consciousness" (p. 134), on a specifically urban way of thinking which acquires the features of a scientific understanding of reality. There are substantial differences between the city and the countryside, and between the ordinary empirical and the theoretical consciousness; they are not the above. One should not deny the rural worker the capability for theoretical thought, and at the same time exaggerate the capacity of the city dweller for the theoretical understanding of reality.

One of the great features of the monograph is its precise practical direction. The author properly poses the problem of developing specific forms of atheistic work in urban conditions. On the one hand these would give consideration to the great scientific atheistic potential of the socialist city, and on the other devote attention to the characteristics of religious manifestations in various urban groups. Above all, this means work at the place of residence, among women, pensioners, emigrants from rural localities, especially young ones. There should also be support for the author's thought that it is essential to make provisions for atheistic work in the plans for the socio-economic development of work collectives, cities and regions, and in comprehensive long term plans for the ideological work of party committees.

One of the characteristic features of V. A. Saprykin's monograph is that it raises many new theoretical problems, although he does not succeed in solving all of them.

There is still much research to do in analyzing the effect of urbanization on the secularization of society and individuals. They include, for example, the specific features of urbanization's effect upon the secularization of regions

with widespread types of religious systems and traditional cultures as, for example, Islam, Catholicism, Bhuddism, etc. Internationalization and the convergence of nations in urban conditions give rise to many problems in overcoming the vestiges of religion and nationalism and in the development of atheism. The study of these problems acquires special significance in light of the CPSU Decree: "On the 60th Anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics".

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NATIONAL

'PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' CALLS FOR BETTER SUPERVISION OF ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 21, Nov 82 pp 6-11

/Unsigned article: "Monitoring and Checking on Fulfilment" /

/Text/ The successful completion of the tasks of communist construction which were put forward in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is unthinkable without further improvements in the effectiveness of party leadership. It is especially important to improve the processes of monitoring and checking on fulfilment of tasks as a component of party organizational work. At the congress note was taken of the positive work in this direction which has been accomplished by the party and soviet organs. At the same time it was pointed out that checking on fulfilment of tasks or orders remains a bottleneck in the activities of a significant number of party organizations.

Soon after the congress the CPSU Central Committee adopted a decree "Concerning Further Improvements in the Monitoring and Checking on Fulfilment in the Light of the 26th CPSU Congress Decisions." The judgments, conclusions and recommendations which are contained in this document have fundamental significance for all party organizations, and they constitute a long-range program of activities. The CPSU Central Committee has required the communist party central committees in the union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, okrugs, gorkoms and raykoms, as well as the primary party organizations, to proceed from the 26th Congress decisions and the guidelines of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to ensure further improvement in the level of organizational work, and for the strengthening of monitoring and checking procedures, as well as for improvements in their forms and methods.

The party committees have developed a broad program of actions for further improvement in monitoring and checking procedures to ensure fulfilment of tasks. And now many of these committees are attempting to use in their work those forms and methods of supervision which ensure unconditional fulfilment of party and government directives and of their own decrees. In this regard the experience of the party committees in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast is instructive. The organizational-political measures developed to fulfil the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums are contributing to the concentration of efforts by party organizations and labor collectives to carry out the socio-economic tasks of the 11th Five Year Plan.

Particular attention is being given to ensure that every point of the measures is maximally specific, to determine the appropriate forms and time periods for supervision and the people responsible for fulfilment of various tasks, as well as to stipulate the form of evaluation and summarization of materials on supervision and to provide broad publicity for the results. The party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms carry out on an extensive basis the practice of hearing reports by officials of party, soviet and economic organs concerning the fulfilment of decisions. Following the 26th CPSU Congress the buro of the party obkom heard 32 such reports. Involved in their preparation are members and candidate members of the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms of the party, members of the revision committee, a broad cross section of the most active members, skilled specialists and persons from the promotion reserve. This work is directed by secretaries in charge of departments of party committees. Importance is attached to a thorough analysis of the results of the checking.

A substantial number of such examples can be cited. Many party committees, while monitoring on a daily basis the state of affairs in all spheres of the national economy, specifically formulate tasks and mobilize collectives to accomplish them successfully. For example, a year ago the buro of the Slobodzeyskiy Raykom of the Moldavian Communist Party considered the rate of progress being made in the construction of the Northern Slobodzeyskiy irrigation project. Having analyzed the state of affairs, the buro noted that the rate of work was in need of acceleration. A strict monitoring procedure was put into effect for fulfilment of the decree which was adopted. First of all, the raykom took steps to increase the combat readiness of the party groups and shop party organizations, to increase the vanguard role of the communists working on the construction. At their initiative a creative search for reserves was started. The rayon party organization focussed the attention of the community on the construction of the project. The party raykom determined the forms of participation in the struggle to fulfil the specified target by all the rayon organizations, and their efforts were clearly coordinated. And the result was not slow to show itself: 2,400 hectares of irrigated lands were put to use on time.

The party organizations have at their disposal a rich arsenal of monitoring practices. The main point is that the monitoring must be systematic, effective and organically linked to vital, organizational work. The party committees in Moscow, Leningrad, Gorkiy and other oblasts are correct in practicing such an effective form of task fulfilment monitoring as comprehensive checks on the state of affairs which are carried out on-site, at the farms and the primary party organizations. This provides more substantial grounds for judging how decisions which have been taken are being fulfilled. Naturally these kinds of checks involve a broad circle of communists, including specialists. This ensures an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs as well as its objectivity.

The effectiveness of monitoring and checking on the fulfilment of tasks is determined by the concrete results which have been achieved by collectives in the implementation of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions. Under the direct influence of party monitoring, discipline is increasing in all units of production management, workers' responsibility for the conscientious fulfilment

of the obligations imposed upon them is growing, and advanced labor methods, the experience of innovators and the achievements of scientific and technical progress are being introduced more effectively. As a result, the planned growth in industrial production has been provided for since the start of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Labor productivity has increased. As the congress noted, the production of consumer goods has increased more rapidly. The social measures which have been planned are being consistently implemented.

However, even more complex tasks lie ahead. For this reason it is important to achieve a level of monitoring and checking which fully meets the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress. It is, after all, no secret that the lagging performance of certain industrial sectors, the instances which still exist of failure to meet plan targets, bad management, juggled figures and white washing are to a significant degree the result of unsatisfactory organization of monitoring practices, a low level of executive discipline and personnel responsibility, a paper-pushing style of leadership.

One of the conditions for effectiveness in checking on fulfilment is to concentrate the checking practices on the top-priority tasks. The entire art of management and politics, taught V.I. Lenin, consists in taking things into account at the right time and knowing where to concentrate one's primary forces and attention.

Leadership of the national economy today constitutes the core of all party and state activities. This fundamental tenet, which was put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress, must become the determining factor in the work of the soviet and economic organs, and of all the party committees without exception.

In preparing to greet in worthy fashion the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the Soviet people are working with enthusiasm on the fulfilment of counter plans and socialist obligations. How are measures to increase production effectiveness and output quality being realized? Is the economic potential which has been created being used skilfully in all places? Are the achievements of science and outstanding work practices being actively introduced? Is a strict regime of thrift being observed? All this must be strictly monitored by the party organizations.

The USSR Food Program, which was adopted by the May (1982) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is a component of our party's economic strategy in a period of developed socialism. Successful fulfilment of this program requires a higher level of organization and responsibility in all units of the economic apparatus, persistence and consistency, efficiency and a high level of activity on the part of every communist and every citizen of our country. The resolution of urgent tasks must be given top priority. At present it is important to concentrate our attention on completing the agricultural year successfully, preserving all that the earth has provided, and laying a good foundation for the next harvest. The country has more than 200,000 farms. They must all be prepared for winter work. After all,

further growth in the output of animal raising production will depend largely on how well the cattle survive the winter. It is the obligation of every party organization, every communist and of all working people to carry out the struggle against any manifestations of poor organization and bad management in all units of the agro-industrial complex and to do everything possible to meet more fully the population's needs for the products of land cultivation and animal raising.

Great tasks related to strengthening of monitoring practices face the party organizations of industry, transport and communications. One of these tasks, it was emphasized at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, one which concerns the entire economy, is the successful development of the fuel and energy complex. Here the monitoring of decision fulfilment must be aimed at the utilization of all available levers and stimuli for saving fuel and energy, at developing new deposits of gas, oil and condensate and at the most rapid possible introduction of energy-saving equipment and technology. The party organizations are called upon to struggle constantly to save metal, to reduce sharply waste and the loss of raw and secondary materials at all stages of processing, storage and transportation and to utilize more fully in production various secondary resources and by-products.

In capital construction checking on fulfilment of party directives should involve concentrating attention on how to improve the organization of production, and the management system, how to improve labor effectiveness, how to save resources and how to open up new enterprises and capacities as rapidly as possible. This requires an end to the dispersion of forces and resources; instead they must be concentrated at the most important facilities. As the May CPSU Central Committee noted, the party organs must improve decisively their attitude toward construction projects of the agro-industrial complex. They must be viewed as the country's priority projects.

An important issue concerns the precise fulfilment by all enterprises of delivery obligations. Failure in this area disturbs the rhythm of production and in the final analysis it inflicts harm upon the national economy and undermines plan discipline. It is essential to increase the authority of contract obligations, and to respect the factories which supply materials and use one's products. Managers of economic units, as well as party committees and primary party organizations, have a great deal to work out in this regard.

"The needs of people," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the Baku celebrations devoted to the presentation of the Order of Lenin to Azerbaijan, "must always come first with us." In this regard, party monitoring of progress in the construction of residences, schools, kindergartens and of all facilities with a social purpose must be strengthened everywhere: the party must work to ensure that they are of high quality and opened on time. It is also necessary to have a stricter approach to the distribution of living space in order to ensure that this problem is everywhere and always resolved fairly.

It should be emphasized that all these and other great and complex problems must be attended to not on a case-by-case basis but systematically, consistently and in a goal-oriented manner. Further, the center of gravity

must be shifted in all places to the vital work among the masses, to monitoring the actual state of affairs on-site in order to take timely measures to eliminate inadequacies which have been uncovered and to prevent work failures. Experience shows that irregular, and especially belated checking on fulfilment of tasks brings little benefit; it only states what has happened. Genuine monitoring is monitoring which is energetic and carried out on a daily basis.

Unfortunately, in a number of instances checking of fulfilment of tasks is episodic in nature and amounts only to a registration of omissions and inadequacies. Moreover, their causes are not revealed with any depth, nor is a fundamental evaluation of instances of poor discipline or organization provided. Frequently the bulk of the attention is concentrated during the course of checking practices on the statement of measures which have been taken rather than on the actual results. The primary party organizations and labor collectives are not always given practical assistance in the resolution of the tasks facing them, nor are strict demands made on those who show a negligent attitude toward their assigned work.

A formal approach to the organization of fulfilment and monitoring practices is sometimes predetermined by a lack of study given to decisions adopted locally. It is well known that such decisions must be developed on the basis of comprehensive and thorough study of the phenomena of life, the practice of party work; the opinions and suggestions of communists and non-party members must be taken into account, as must the letters from working people; they must be supported by outstanding initiatives by party organizations and labor collectives. Every resolution must contain clear directives and tasks, it must show the means and methods to resolve them, it must specify concrete deadlines and the people responsible for the fulfilment of the particular measures. However, the preparation of party decisions is by no means always or everywhere approached in such an exacting and principled manner. For example, the Andreyevskiy Rayon committee of the party in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast considers every year the activities of the mobile mechanized unit 2302 (MMU 2302) of the Taldy-Kurganstroy Trust. But the resolutions which they take are prepared in a hurried manner. Sometimes they are pretentious and poorly substantiated. Of course, it is impossible to monitor the fulfilment of general statements which oblige no one to do anything. Resolutions of this kind do not have any substantial influence on the improvement of matters. In recent years the volume of work fulfilled by the MMU 2302 has dropped to half the previous figure. In essence, not a single facility has been handed over for use at the established time.

After a decision has gone unfulfilled, a second and even a third resolution is sometimes adopted on the same issues. In terms of content, they would seem to be not bad. But after all, one is talking in essence about something which should have been done already.

For what does this kind of practice provide evidence? In the first place, of course, it testifies to the low level of demands made by certain party committees and officials of central agencies on people who are guilty of failing to meet previous decisions. "Unfortunately," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev

at the 26th CPSU Congress, "not everyone has mastered the simple truth that the art of leadership does not consist of producing and showering directives on every occasion. Having adopted a decision, it is necessary to achieve strict fulfilment of it within the established time period. Improved monitoring should also help with this."

Organizing the execution of decisions which have been taken and the monitoring of progress in their fulfilment constitute one of the most important tasks of the party apparatus. With its assistance the elected organ carries out daily leadership of economic and cultural construction, conducts organizational and political work among the working people, and strengthens and expands its links with the masses of communists and non-party members. However, as letters to the editor testify, in some places employees of the party apparatus frequently "sit on the telephone" for whole days, and they occupy themselves with consideration of second-priority questions or of purely supply-related ones.

Party committees are called upon to eliminate this kind of style, to act in the spirit of the 26th party congress requirements. The work of the party apparatus must be organized in such a way that its employees spend more time in the collectives and study the state of affairs more thoroughly, and render more on-site assistance in the fulfilment of targets.

It should be remembered that no matter how well organized monitoring from above is, it must be supplemented by monitoring from below. A special role here belongs to the primary party organizations which operate within the depths of the masses. It is essential that within these organizations an atmosphere of high standards and efficiency, of criticism and self-criticism, as well as intolerance of inadequacies must be created. At party meetings, party committee and party buro sessions people should hear reports by communists about the work which they have conducted on the realization of resolutions which have been taken; there should be active support for their initiative and creative efforts, for worthwhile suggestions and comments.

The strength of the party organizations' influence on the affairs of the collectives also depends to a significant degree on how they implement the monitoring of the activities of the administration and work of the apparatus. In fulfilment of the well-known CPSU Central Committee decrees concerning Voronezh and the committees on monitoring, the party organizations have significantly increased the level of their activities. In a majority of party organizations the number of permanent committees has increased and the monitoring practices have become stricter, more multi-faceted and effective. Recently the buro of the Orlov CPSU Obkom approved the experience of the party organization in the Livny Kolkhoz imeni 22oy s'yezd KPSS. The successes in the economic and socio-cultural development of this kolkhoz are explained by the fact that the party organization shows consistent interest in strengthening the responsibility which communists have for the work in progress; it skilfully indoctrinates the collective and monitors the activities of the directing board, the heads of the various subdivisions, and it struggles persistently for the fulfilment of the decisions which have been made. All key questions of production development here are continuously considered at party meetings. Specific

decisions are made on these issues, deadlines and responsibility for meeting them are established. Communists present reports on fulfilment of statutory requirements and official duties. Serious preparations are made for the discussions, which take place in an atmosphere of efficiency and high standards.

However, certain party committees continue to underestimate monitoring practices as an important means for eliminating inadequacies, developing initiatives by communists, for encouraging criticism and self-criticism and improving the state of affairs. When discussing issues related to the resolution of economic and social problems, they frequently forget about the role and responsibility of primary party organizations, and about the need for them to implement more fully their statutory right to monitor. In the party organizations of certain oblasts not a single new committee has been established, nor has the qualitative composition of the organizations been improved. The attention being devoted to the establishment of party monitoring in the sphere of production and management and to the effective utilization of the great potential of committees in this area by the sector departments of many party committees is obviously inadequate, and the buro's and secretaries have not been firm in calling them to account for these omissions.

The CPSU Central Committees requires the party organizations to use forms and methods for monitoring the activities of the administration, which have shown themselves to be effective; and it points out the need for every employee of an enterprise, regardless of the position which he occupies, to answer for his work and actions before, first of all, the party organizations and the collective where he works. Regardless of whether the discussion concerns personnel issues, the fulfilment of economic plans or improvements in the living and working conditions of people, the party organizations must adhere to their principles, they must not be under the administration's thumb; when the latter acts incorrectly, they must take a firm party line.

The monitoring of the work performed by the administrative apparatus should be substantially improved. As the 26th CPSU Congress noted, the party committees of the ministries and agencies must defend decisively and uncompromisingly the interests of the state as a whole. "More initiative, more adherence to principles, that is what one would like to wish them from the congress platform!" said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev.

As is well known the primary party organizations of the ministries, the state committees and other central and local institutions and agencies have been granted the right to monitor the work of the apparatus in fulfilling party and government directives and in observing Soviet laws. It should be emphasized that after the 26th CPSU Congress the work of the party organizations in the ministries and agencies has become more goal oriented in nature. With widespread participation by rank and file communists, they have developed detailed plans of measures for the realization of party congress decisions and for subsequent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee. The party organizations also have clear plans with regard to the fulfilment of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions. All this helps to concentrate the attention of communists on the main directions in the work of the apparatus and to take into account the specific features of the sector and to influence more actively the state of affairs.

For example, the party organization of the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry has begun to make wide use at party meetings and party committee sessions of discussions of reports by communists, including reports by high-level employees of the ministry concerning their official activities and fulfilment of statutory requirements. Further, the discussions are conducted in a serious, efficient manner with adherence to party principles. All this inculcates in their colleagues a spirit of high responsibility for the assigned work, makes it possible to take measures to strengthen state discipline and to conduct a consistent struggle against bureaucratism and red tape.

While taking note of positive changes, it is essential to emphasize at the same time that the magnitude and complexity of the tasks which must be solved in the 11th Five-Year Plan make higher demands on the state administrative apparatus. What do the party organizations of the ministries and agencies sometimes lack? Primarily consistency and persistence in achieving the set goal. For example, more than three years have passed since the day the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree concerning improvements in the economic mechanism. This document opened up a qualitatively new stage in the improvement of planning and of the entire system for the management of the economy. However, as the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee plenum noted, the decree is being implemented slowly, half heartedly. Not many ministries have taken up the new principles for economic operations.

Instead of discussing the situation in a self-critical, exacting manner and taking the appropriate measures, the party committees of certain ministries are taking a temporizing position. Sometimes they criticize very willingly the inadequacies of related sectors and the material-technical supply base, while talking very quietly about improvements in the work of their own apparatus.

The CPSU Central Committee has entrusted responsibility for the state of monitoring practices directly with the ministries and officials of the state and economic organs. A proposal has been made to the effect that the role of the boards in ensuring that monitoring is carried out should be increased and that their sessions should include systematic consideration of the organization of the work involved in carrying out decisions which have been taken. And the party organizations of the ministries, agencies and economic organs should utilize more fully the right which they have been granted to monitor the work of the apparatus in fulfilling the party and government directives, to fight decisively against instances of bureaucratism and red tape, as well as to increase the personal responsibility of employees for the fulfilment of state plans and for the realization of decrees which have been enacted.

In working to achieve the clear execution of its directives, the party requires that monitoring and checking on execution of such directives should be a very important component of the daily organizational work of every unit of the party and state apparatus, of every party soviet and economic official, and of all party organizations. And it is from precisely these positions of principle that there should follow the systematic analysis of the state of

monitoring and checking on the execution of directives; this analysis is to be carried out at plenums of the party committees and bureau sessions, along with careful study of the positive experience, which should be shared with all party organizations.

It is the obligation of the party committees to develop and activate in every possible way the work of the trade union organizations in strengthening the practice of monitoring fulfillment of collective agreements, the observance of labor legislation, the development of socialist competition, as well as to help these organizations in the resolution of all issues related to the labor, housing and day-by-day conditions of the working people; the party committees must also help the people's control organs at the local level to utilize more fully the opportunities for bringing the broad masses of working people into the direct implementation of monitoring practices in all spheres of production and social life.

It is important that the party committees direct their activities skilfully and coordinate the efforts of the monitoring organizations and that they eliminate the practice of having certain enterprises and institutions subjected to numerous checks and inspections. In order to prevent this, it is necessary to work out concrete measures aimed at eliminating duplication in the conduct of inspection visits, and to increase coordination in the work of the people's control organs, the standing committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the headquarters of the Komsomol Search Light and the committees of the trade union organizations.

By steadily improving the forms and methods for monitoring and checking on the execution of their orders, the party committees will provide for further improvements in labor and political activity levels of the masses; they will contribute to the successful implementation of plans and obligations of the second year and of the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole, and to the realization of the program for communist construction worked out by the 26th party congress.

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NATIONAL

DIFFICULTIES IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET FAR NORTH SURVEYED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by K. Mironov, first secretary of the Yamalo-Nenetsk Okrug Party Committee, Tyumen Oblast: "The Trials of the North--From End to End"]

[Text] It has been just over 10 years since the country learned of the gas in Yamal. One can say without exaggeration that it was precisely at that time that the rapid and large-scale changes started to take place in the economic and social life of the okrug. Now the okrug receives over 1.5 billion rubles in capital investments per year. New towns and cities have grown up and almost everywhere people are watching television. In the current five-year plan geologists should increase the volume of exploration-research drilling by a factor of 2.5. In 1975 Yamal supplied 30 billion cubic meters of gas. Ten years later, this figure will be many times larger. The oil-industry workers have some large tasks ahead of them.

Now, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, some things are especially clear: future economic development of all the republics can be enhanced significantly by solving some large Union-wide national economy tasks, such as exploitation of the fuel-energy and raw material wealth of Siberia, the Far East, the North and other regions. With this as a goal, the efforts of the entire country are being joined; the material and manpower resources are being actively utilized. An example of this can be found in the Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug.

The North is the North. Not everyone manages to stay here. I want to point out that the core, the kernel of the okrug party organizations are those people who have become rooted and have grown deeply attached to this difficult land. Our innovators, as a rule, are those whom the North has tempered over a number of years.

Far up above the arctic circle in the village of Tazovskiy, there is an electronic computer in operation--the northernmost in Siberia. It was installed by local seismologists under the leadership of V. Tsybenko, bearer of the Order of Lenin. One of the first discoverers of Urengoy, he has been in the Tyumen North for over two decades. He began when the prospecting was done essentially blindly. Now the seismographic exploration in the high latitudes is done with contemporary methods.

Let us consider the "Urengoygazdobycha" [Urengoy gas extraction] production association imeni S. Orudzhev, the largest in the industry. Its director, I. Nikonenko, winner of the USSR State Prize, and his deputy, R. Surleymanov, winner of the Lenin Komsomol Prize, also attended universities in the North. At times they have finished ahead of planners' estimates and in the least amount of time managed to put into operation the first gas enterprises. The modernization of plants for complex gas processing that was carried out with their active participation allowed the capacity of each plant to be increased by a factor of 1.5.

We must also say a good word about B. Vasil'yev, a former pilot and now commander of the Salekhard aviation enterprise. It is not easy to work as a pilot under our complicated conditions. Aviators under the leadership of this tireless commander efficiently carry out the requests of fishermen and geologists, construction workers and those doing cooperative work.

Of course, these people did not become leaders immediately. They grew gradually, gathering experience little by little. The party raykoms and gorkoms closely followed their professional and civic growth, and guided and helped them. I recall a conversation with V. Vakhina, director of the large "Rossiya" reindeer-fur raising sovkhoz. When the position was recommended to her, she wondered, "Will I be able to do it? After all, most of the people on the farm are men." They reminded Valentina Aleksandrovna that she had worked many years in the tundra, had been a livestock specialist, headed the sovkhoz party organization, and knows the local conditions and the Nenetsk language. They told her, "You have the most experience. We're sure that it will work out."

And indeed, for V. Vakhina, the only female director of a Northern sovkhoz, everything is working out well: "Rossiya" is among the leading enterprises consistently.

And here is another instance of the strength of an example set by communists of their loyalty to duty. At one time the leading "Nydinskiy" sovkhoz started to go downhill. For a long time a director could not be found: not everyone can mobilize a collective that has lost faith in its capabilities. It was then decided to send to the farm V. Alekhanov, a most experienced worker and veteran of Northern agriculture. It is no secret that the new director had to act quickly to disprove the authorities who contended that it was impossible to have a reindeer farm operating alongside gas production enterprises. Alekhanov succeeded in changing this opinion. The sovkhoz, which had not fulfilled its plans for several years, won the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU okrug committee and the okrug soviet executive committee.

The party okrug committee, especially after the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is giving primary attention to reinforcing personnel in agriculture. Working side by side with Nenets, Khanti and Sel'kup workers, we have Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians. It is a harmonious multi-national family. Undoubtedly the development of industrial sectors in the okrug is making itself known. In reindeer breeding, Iceland moss pastures are shrinking, hunters are forced to go further into the taiga and tundra. Naturally, we are making efforts to protect the Northern land. At the same time,

we are motivating specialists at sovkhozes and fish plants, and leaders of the "Yamal" agro-industrial association to find efficient new forms for organizing production, making timely changes in the reindeer herds' pasture routes, and development of remote fishing grounds.

Several years ago a problem arose in the traditional sectors of the economy: the older personnel were retiring and the young people preferred more fashionable professions. It was decided to increase the prestige of professions in reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing. Clubs were set up in the boarding schools, optional courses were taught in schools by knowledgeable specialists and leaders in production. Many young people choose to spend the fifth quarter--the working quarter--in the tundra.

The system of vocational orientation is working efficiently today. In the five-year plan, approximately 1000 people from the local population have been trained as reindeer breeders, radio operators, helmsmen, purveyors, motor mechanics, agricultural construction workers, and fish examiners in the technical schools. As a result, there is not such a personnel problem in reindeer breeding and hunting. The fathers' work is being carried on by their industrious, educated sons. Here are just a few of their names: Anatoliy Vanuyto, our deputy in the republic's Supreme Soviet; Vera Khudi, delegate to the 29th Komsomol Congress; Sergey Serotetto, the best reindeer breeder in the okrug; Lidiya Okotetto and brigade leader Aleksandr Khudi. What a fine young generation!

The specific character of practically every kind of Northern production is such that the primary working unit here is a fairly small collective, be it a drilling crew, construction workers in a transport-line village, or a reindeer breeding brigade. People work far from population centers and settlements. Therefore a lot depends on brigade leaders and party group organizers. You will agree that they must always be on top of a situation, they must make the right decisions, and they must make the best use of the material resources entrusted to them.

When you analyze the experience of the best, you will certainly note these qualities. The younger worker matures and is educated in the brigade; in addition to professional skills, he acquires civic training and learns the correct attitude to take toward life. For example, the license to implement the "Sever-1" pipe-welding complex developed by scientists at the Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye. O. Paton of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences together with specialists from the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, into production at the "Urengoytruboprovodstroy" [Urengoy pipeline construction] trust, was entrusted to the brigade of N. Minayev. This is new, complicated work. These machines are called the complexes of tomorrow. But some leaders, too busy with their current affairs, did not get involved in the brigade's implementation work, and did not help with it. And what of the brigade leader? He did not throw up his hands; he managed to overcome the inertia in the leadership. As a result, he proved the long-range usefulness of "Sever".

B. Diduk, winner of the USSR State Prize, also had the occasion to spend some time at a welding-installation brigade. He observed the work on the pipeline welding production line and automatically compared it to the deposit conveyor line at ZIL [Moscow Automobile Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev]. When he asked Boris Pavlovich what their secret of success was, he nodded toward the party group organizer: "Vasiliy Ivanovich can explain it better." In this original way, the brigade leader noted the merits of V. Nazarenko, party group organizer and welder, and other communists who created in the collective a healthy, constructive atmosphere which allows one to work at full efficiency.

We set the following task: every collective working in remote areas must have such reliable people. A system of political and economic instruction also serves in the ideological training of personnel. Understandably, we are trying to build this while taking into consideration the specific characteristics of local conditions. An example of this is the interesting experience at the "Severtruboprovodstroy" [Northern pipeline construction] trust. The party committee there is headed by M. Chernenko, a veteran of developing the rich resources of Yamal. Under his direction, a propaganda group was formed of administration specialists who go out and lecture regularly at transport-line villages.

The development of Yamal is a large-scale, long-term program. The harsh conditions are an important factor, but not the fundamental one that causes difficulties at times in keeping skilled specialists. People leave most often because of lack of housing. Economists have estimated that preparations and arrangements for a person to work in the North cost the state approximately 20,000 rubles. Therefore we are working on completing housing not only on schedule, but ahead of schedule.

From time to time such reasoning can be heard: people are drawn to the North because they want to earn a lot of money. There are of course people like that. But they do not last long here. Those who remain are the people with strong moral development. They are distinguished by a heightened sense of responsibility, business-like optimism, and mutual assistance. This forms a reliable support--a gold reserve--for the okrug party organization.

9967
CSO: 1800/456

NATIONAL

ALL-UNION CONFERENCE ON DEMOGRAPHY HELD IN KIEV

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINIAN in Russian 27 Oct 82 p 2

/Unsigned article: "Problems of Demographic Policy" /

/Text/ Kiev, 26 October (RATAU correspondent)--Problems of contemporary demographic policy are being discussed at an all-union scientific conference opening today in the Ukrainian capital. Leading demographers from Moscow, Leningrad, other Soviet cities, and specialists from Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are taking part in the conference.

"Successful accomplishment of tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress, for improving and increasing the effectiveness of demographic policy, requires further study of population questions," stated T. V. Ryabushkin, director of the sociological research institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and associate member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In contrast to capitalist countries, where population size is regulated by requirements for a work force as the main weapon for enriching capitalists, first of all the large monopolies, in socialist countries the production of the work force, as the main source of growth in national wealth, is subordinated to socialist economic laws. The comprehensive department of the population in connection with this has great social significance. Therefore the thrust of demographic policy is identical in all countries of the socialist community. It is directed toward further increasing the physical and spiritual forces of the whole population, ensuring full employment in social production, and the complete satisfaction of growing needs. Measures which insure optimum natural growth of the population and labor resources on the one hand, and "rational migration" on the other, are of great importance. In addition, effective measures are needed to strengthen the family, develop better conditions for combining motherhood with active participation of women in public work, increase life expectancy and the period of active labor, and improve health.

The conference will last three days. Its materials will be used in developing the Complex Program for Scientific-Technical Progress For the Period 1986 - 2005.

9069

CSO: 1800/332

NATIONAL

UNHAPPY FATE OF PEOPLE HIDING OUT IN TAIGA DESCRIBED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Jul 82 p 3

/Article by Special Correspondent from Khakass Autonomous Oblast, Yu. Svintitskiy: "Ruined Lives"/

/Text/ Just two years ago, in order to get to the upper reaches of the Abakan it was necessary to take a motorboat in the small Abaz settlement, make arrangements with an experienced boatsman, and go upstream, venturing each hour or hour and a half onto rapids and narrows, and overcoming logjams. Now it is sufficient to await the helicopter or airplane which exchange shifts and carry cargo to the Volkov iron ore deposits which is under geological exploration. The geologists enlivened these places and made them accessible. They say that in time a mine and a railroad may also appear here.

And just 15 kilometers or so from the workers' settlement, people are living whose fate causes feelings of bitterness and bewilderment, and a sense of the absurdity of what is taking place. The religious fanatic and dissident Karp Lykov departed from "the world" many years ago, and took his family with him--his wife and four children. Their life was filled with truly convict labor and deprivations. This was all discussed in our paper on 21 September 1980, in a report entitled, "The Secret of a Nameless Stream." It resulted in a large number of letters. On the whole they expressed indignation at the Lykovs' conduct, and at the same time agreed with the opinion that it is difficult to judge people who are enmeshed in their own superstitions and already accustomed to their own way of life. The readers were interested in how the family members' fate would turn out in the future. But there were also those who found these words of the author too categorical: "Karp Osipovich and his children, shielding themselves, not in faith but in superstition, have doomed their family to extinction." Perhaps it is not now right to name names, but there were also those letter writers who in general saw nothing blameworthy in the Lykov's conduct. Let them live as they wish, they demanded.

And now it appears that something definite might be said. Unfortunately the worst fears have turned out to be well founded. We recall that in time Mrs. Lykov became sick and died, not able to withstand the rigors of the life to which the family's head had condemned it. Karp Osipovich himself said that she might have survived, had that year not been "difficult." And he might have stopped his stubbornness and asked for help. He didn't ask...

In January of this year a letter arrived from geologist G. Vlasov. These are the tragic events he disclosed.

The first snow fell last year in September. It had not thawed when in early October a second snow fell, this one more substantial. And then Lykov and his daughters appeared in the settlement. He asked for help in harvesting his crop which was perishing in its beds. The geologists responded to this request and saved most of the potatoes. But at that time they also brought news to the settlement that the younger son, Dmitriy, had caught cold and was seriously ill, and the older son, Savvin, who was obviously exhausted, was building a new hut.

People were alarmed, and doctor's assistant Lyubov' Ostroumova got agitated.

Everyone was convinced that medical assistance was needed. But old Lykov even rejected pills, saying "I cannot!" Dmitriy died first. He was buried with weeping and ceaseless prayers. The geologists urged and insisted that the Lykovs move to the settlement if only for the winter, in order to get by the difficult time. And again: "I cannot!"

At New Years, old Lykov and his daughters again went to the settlement. "Savvin is very bad. He almost died. He asks for a small loaf of white bread..." They were given flour, groats and sugar. It is hard to say whether Savvin tasted the white bread. Later, those who visited the Lykovs' hut saw the products lying against the wall.

And then the senior Lykov again visited the geologists. This time with Agaf'ya, the younger daughter. Crying, they recounted that Savvin had also died, and right after him, "from great anguish," the older girl, Natal'ya, as well.

Here it must be said that after the Lykovs' story was published, many expressed a desire to help them. They tried to send both money and parcels. Everything was in vain. But at that same time, distant relatives were found, living in Kemerovo Oblast. Karp Lykov requested that they be summoned to the funeral.

And again the geologists came to the aid. In the shortest period of time, despite the poor weather, the relatives were brought to the Lykovs.

It is difficult to say exactly what sort of a meeting it was or what they talked about. I met many geologists who participated in the fate of the family. They all say this much. The visitors were of the same faith as the Lykovs. But apparently Karp Osipovich, even in such a tragic situation as this, did not wish to forego his dogmas. He did not agree even to move to his relatives' home. And they went back home, indignant at the old man's conduct, and understanding that his stubbornness and prejudices had become an obstacle to saving the children, if they had not ruined things entirely. Now there are only two on the stream bank: Karp Osipovich Lykov himself, who is past eighty, and his daughter, Agaf'ya, an "old maid," as she herself says. And nearby--four graves, which need not have been.

Has anything changed--not in the religious dogmas about which we will not judge for entirely understandable reasons--but in regards to old Lykov's life? He has brought himself to make some concessions. Geologist Kurmash Topushev brought the old man a sickle at his request. The Lykovs also decided to wear rubber boots and headgear which the workers gave them. They also did not mind using axes, saws and fishing hooks. Karp Osipovich did not disdain taking in hand the envelop with a letter from his relatives in Kemerovo Oblast which boring machine master operator Erofey Sedov brought him, having made his way through the taiga. They again tried to convince the Lykovs to come to their home. But the old man again adamantly dismissed this. He had firmly resolved to stay there and, as they say, pray for forgiveness of his "sins" until the end of his days. And now the workers, flying in an aircraft or helicopter above the isolated plot, all look below and wonder whether they are alive, or whether something has happened.

Perhaps this story need not have been given in such detail, if it were not for one circumstance. S. Pinchykov from the Altay Kray reports this in his letter:

"People appeared who, not wanting to work, set out into the taiga and tried to live by nature's gifts. It is not enough that this is parasitism and must be punished by the law. But they even take their children with them. What awaits them?"

Now, based on the example of the Lykovs, it is possible to answer that with full certainty.

No, one cannot be shy and glance about under such circumstances. It is necessary to intervene, decisively and quickly; both the public and the authorities. It is impermissible that the fate of human beings can be twisted at somebody's whim.

9069
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NATIONAL

READERS AGAINST EXPANSION OF FOREIGN NEWS COVERAGE IN CENTRAL PAPER

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Sep 82 p 3

/Article by family of V. Polyakov from Kaluga, RSFSR: "Closer to People's Concerns"/

/Text/ A Proposal by the Entire Family

We welcomed with great approval and gratitude the news of the CPSU Central Committee decision to increase the size of the paper, "Sovetskaya Rossiya," beginning on 1 January 1983.

I write "we" because we discussed in our family this news and the article, "The Reader - The Paper," published on 5 September, and wish to express our desires to the editors. Our family includes people of various ages and professions: an engineer, a teacher, a student, and labor veterans, ranging in age from 14 to 66 years.

It is our unanimous opinion and advice that, as the paper's size increases, its style and unique form should be preserved. It is not necessary to think up new rubrics, but it would be better to take up more fully and thoroughly problems already raised and to discuss issues in their entirety, informing the readers of measures being undertaken.

In our view it is not necessary to take up more extensively questions of international life, but the daily page, "The World Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," should be preserved in its present form, because it contains sufficient information. Perhaps it would be good to include, in addition, a weekly page on life in the socialist countries. In taking up their experiences, it would be appropriate to discuss their labor successes, ways of life, people's attitudes toward work, organization of leisure, and participation in sports and tourism.

We warmly support the editors' plans to increase youth-oriented themes, but we believe that it is not appropriate to limit this to periodically publishing a special page or rubric. After all, the young are not some sort of separate part of society, but a leading and most active part, which participates in all the country's economic and cultural developments. The youth theme may be accommodated through extending such publications as "Family," and "My Years--

"My Riches," and through topics such as organization of leisure and sport, as well as by encouraging young people themselves to write more in the paper. It would be good for the paper to reflect generational issues and matters of raising young people's sense of responsibility, patriotism and love of country, not through preaching and exhortation, but by employing vivid, living examples.

Reviews of readers letters on various themes and the department, "Answers to Criticism," should be published more often.

Do not increase the length of articles, since a number of them are very long and wordy.

Resume the rubric, "Small Cities of Russia." There are many such cities in the RSFSR, and in their lives is much that is valuable and interesting. They deserve to have pages of the paper devoted to them.

9069
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NATIONAL

CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF RISING SOVIET DIVORCE RATE

Moscow STROITEL'NAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Dec 82 p 4

Interview with Yuriy Borisovich Ryurikov, author, sociologist, by Ye. Krushel'nitskiy; date and place not specified: "A Family Union and a Union of Families" Passages in boldface enclosed in slantlines

Text Yuriy Borisovich Ryurukov is a writer and sociologist, the author of the books "Tri vlecheniya. Lyubov' ee vchera, segodnya, zavtra" /Three Attractions Love Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow/ and "Trudnost' schast'ya (lyubov' i molodaya sem'ya)" /The Difficulty of Happiness (Love and the Young Family)/. Our interview began with the quite dismal statistic: In the past third of a century the number of divorces has increased 15 fold. The number of single people has also increased, from one in ten to almost one in five.

Question /Yuriy Borisovich, these phenomena are usually linked to the scientific and technical revolution. However, it is difficult to see the influence of the NTR /Scientific and technical revolution/ in an ordinary family quarrel. Can one even relate family quarrels, which have been around for all time, with progress?/

Answer In my opinion, one can. The NTR, and present day urban life have an effect on our entire psychology. They change feelings and personal relationships. They have brought with them an "explosion of change" and have sharply accelerated the pace of life: Today as much happens in one year as previously occurred in 10-15. This has enriched our lives with novelties, but also caused heavy nervous overloads. And what about the "explosion of contacts". Today the average urban dweller has about 500 to 2,000 acquaintances. Each day we encounter a multitude of people. This expands our horizons and makes life more interesting. However, the more contacts, the more superficial they become and nervous strain from them grows. To nervous overloading one can also add physical under-loading --it is a sitting civilization. Nature has its defense mechanisms, and begins to economize on nervous energy. Each of our experiences and feelings uses less nervous energy than previously, and our feelings become weak and poor.

However, together with this impoverishment, there is a deepening and enrichment of feeling. This is caused by education, culture, an attraction to the development of our own "I". There are more people of personality, people with profound and complex psyches.

In today's people it is as if two directions were being intensified: A deepening and a shallowing of the soul (dusha), and an enrichment and impoverishment of feelings. Where impoverishment is more intense, people suffer from a devaluation of love, their feelings vanish more rapidly. Where there is enrichment many become more exacting, sometimes too much so. This also hinders personal life, and adds new complications to it.

These changes have taken place in recent decades. The recognition of them lags sharply behind their course of development and we are not able to assist our new pluses and hinder our new minuses.

/Question/ / All the same, why have we become more quarrelsome?/

/Answer/ When a person suffers from nervous overload, a large share of his spiritual energy closes in on himself and less remains for better relationships with other people. Such a person becomes more egotistical, and consequently more quarrelsome.

This also intensifies the dark side of emancipation. Undertaking previously masculine roles, women frequently imitate masculine brutality, and straightforwardness. Many of them smoke, drink and use foul language. Femininity, that is intense feelings, spiritual tenderness, affection, weaken and wane. After all, femininity is the main magnet which draws masculinity. In males there is frequently a weakening of the deep magnets of masculinity -- a gentle power, desire to protect and lessen concerns. Instead there is an increase in fault-finding, indecisiveness, and a desire to ride on someone else's back. This weakening of masculine and feminine qualities is a real psychological epidemic. All of this causes the threatening growth of family troubles: In recent years we have had almost no change in the number of marriages, but every year there are more divorces.

/Question/ / Today two-thirds of the divorces occur upon the initiative of the woman, while 30 years ago it was the opposite. Have men become worse, or women more exacting?/

/Answer/ Here it is a little of both. In my opinion families have become worse: Our inability to deal with our shortcomings, which hinder private life, have become more acute. One half of all divorces requested by women are caused by the husbands' drunkenness. Not so long ago these figures appeared in the periodical *MOLODOY KOMMUNIST*: 37% of all male workers drink excessively. The green snake is perhaps the biggest destroyer of good relationships. Incidentally, however, many men drink because of family discord. If the home were more attractive, if there were not a "buzz-saw wife" waiting at home, and not boring monotony, then there would be less drinking.

One out of five women gets a divorce because of male roughness, and many divorces are due to adultery. Sometimes this is justified, but frequently not. Instead of curing a wound inflicted upon a family, bearing a grudge will kill a family. After all, the family -- a good family -- can be the main source of happiness in our lives. It is made up of an alloy of three loves

conjugal, parental, and that of children. This unique alloy can create the world's warmest spiritual climate. Unfortunately, our present family culture frequently makes it the main source of grief.

Question / How can we help the family become more happy? /

Answer / This requires the restructuring of much of family life. In addition, in my opinion this restructuring should be thorough and systematic, partial measures will not do enough. We should begin with enlightenment -- the education of children in family life, and with the publication of literature for young marrieds and young parents. We still have three ignorances -- psychological, sexual, and educational.

In my opinion, we also cannot get along without a union of families. At present many urban dwellers are literally tired out from housekeeping and taking care of children. Associations of seven to eight families, who are neighbors, and similar in age and views, would lessen this burden. Today, for example, one family buys groceries and prepares meals for all, another watches the children, while a third washes. This would reduce domestic chores by two-thirds. That is the first advantage of family unions. A second is that only-children would cease to be only-children, they would grow up together. This would be better for them and they would do better. There is a third advantage. In the majority of families the husbands only partially participate in housework and raising the children. A union of families is also a union of men, helping one another, they would be much more involved with the children and housework.

Unfortunately, there are very few family unions. However, 15-20 years ago in Kiev up to three percent of young families participated in them. Many are now ready for family mutual assistance. According to sociologists' reckoning about one-third to one-half of young parents want them. Incidentally, this would especially help young people who are short of money.

In addition to small family unions, there are also large ones. In Kaliningrad near Moscow, for example, a thousand families of workers, engineering and technical personnel, and scientific workers built a house and organized personal services and childcare in it. In my opinion such home communes are the main way of improving domestic life.

Of course, more state help is also necessary. This includes the development of a childrens' food industry, not just for infants, but for all ages. The work of kindergartens should be sharply improved. At present each kindergarten teacher has 30 children. What sort of upbringing is that! Public help is also necessary, the assistance of school children, relatives, and students. The family needs thorough help, including financial and housing aid.

Question / In your opinion, how effective can these measures be. After all, many of them are intended for enthusiasts. Not everybody has the power to change their habits. Even knowing the truth, we far from always pursue it. /

Answer / True, much depends upon our strength or weakness, but experience in Hungary, Czechoslovakia shows they can help. A systematic strategy of family help can strengthen the pluses, which support civilization, and reduce the minuses.

11,574

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NATIONAL

AMOUNT OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN LOCAL PRESS DISCUSSED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 82 pp 20-21

[Articles, titles indicated below, by Polikarp Shafeta and Vladimir Popov, under rubric "Practical Life"]

[Text] The following items were written by P. Shafeta, editor of the oblast newspaper RADYAN'SKA VOLYN' and V. Popov, responsible secretary of NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA. They pose questions about international information on the pages of local newspapers.

What kind of international information should the oblast newspaper print? It would appear that Polikarp Shafeta's article contains a partial answer to that question. Vladimir Popov's article addresses desires to TASS.

"Then They Will Read Us,"

Polikarp Shafeta

Polikarp Gerasiyevich Shafeta was born in 1935. Since graduation from the Journalism School of Lvov State University he has been working at the editorial office of the oblast newspaper RADYAN'SKA VOLYN' (Lutsk, UkrSSR). Since 1971 he has been the editor of the newspaper.

Among my associates the false opinion sometimes prevails that questions of international life is a concern only for the central -- or as we still call them, the "large" -- newspapers. Of course the "large" newspapers do have a corresponding large number of opportunities. But in my opinion the local press also should not be satisfied only with the materials that we receive from TASS and APN [Novosti News Agency]. Especially since the present-day reader, with complete justification, is becoming increasingly intolerant of the duplication of information and the "twin communiques" in all the newspapers. Therefore it is important for the local press to find its own place, its own forms of work in throwing light upon international problems.

I would like to tell about our search, about how we attempt to get away from the so-called "subject-matter return fire."

For several years our newspaper has been printing the series "Chats About Politics." These are not articles, but, actually, conversations that our journalist has had with workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, and scientists about today's most vital questions. These items are published on Saturday or Sunday on the front page with a photograph of the person interviewed, and a brief biographical sketch. The correspondents attempt to ask questions that are interesting and unstereotypical, and that are understandable by every reader. And the persons interviewed attempt accordingly to answer in the same precise way.

What are these conversations about? About Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, about the international mission of the Soviet soldier in Afghanistan. During the current jubilee year we have been talking about the way in which the friendship of the Soviet peoples manifests itself in the activities of the labor collective, in a person's private life, in our traditions.

Volyn Oblast is one that lies on the state border. And, at the time when, on the other side of the Western Bug, the counterrevolutionary forces attempted to dismantle socialism in Poland, we devoted the careful attention to those events. We published not only the official reports. Our journalists talked with participants in the liberation of Poland from the fascist usurpers, with trade-union activists, and representatives of plants and factories, who maintain close business relations with related enterprises in the neighboring country.

We received responses from our readers to our statements, and we printed collected items containing readers' letters. We still continue to keep our eye on this topic. And our first assistant is always the reader, the person of labor.

For a long time we have been friends with the journalists in the Lublin newspaper SZTANDAR LUDU in the Polish People's Republic, and have been receiving letters from our associates, from those for whom, as the expression goes, black and white have always been, and continue to be, black and white, both before September 1980 and after it, and also after the introduction of martial law.

When striving to differentiate among the work forms, we attempt to unite the re-questions of the reader and the TV viewer. Central and republic television have a large number of interesting political programs. For example, those dealing with the events in China, Chile, Ulster, and other "hot spots" throughout the world. Together with our party associates, we organize collective viewings of those broadcasts at enterprises and in auditoriums of educational institutions. After the viewing we conduct interviews with the viewers and print a kind of collective review in the newspaper.

It seems to us that better use should be made of the journalistic reserves by the workers in the other mass-information media, especially those who provide the local press with counterpropaganda materials, because it is not only the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA who are interested in the materials that are printed in figurative language with dynamic dialogue. The reader of the local press does not want to make allowances for living "in the boondocks." And, of course, he is right.

In reorganizing, in conformity with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, our journalistic work, we have to think a bit about the stylistic differentiation of the

materials presented over the radio and television and in the newspapers. It seems to us that (apart from official communiques) it is necessary to write in different ways about one and the same event for presentation on the television screen, and on the newspaper page. If a person hears a piece of news over the "Latest News," it will no longer be interesting to him in the next day's newspaper. However, he will definitely read a publication that reports additional details about an event, information that is provided with explanatory comments. Yesterday's viewer or listener must become today's reader.

"Above All Else, Timeliness,"
Vladimir Popov

Vladimir Nikitich Popov was born in 1923. He graduated from the Higher Party School, attached to CPSU Central Committee. He is an RSFSR Honored Cultural Worker. He has worked as an editor of rayon newspapers and the newspaper NOVGORODSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. Since 1968 he has been the responsible secretary of the editorial board of the newspaper NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA.

Ten years ago our newspaper's editorial office sent out questionnaires to our readers. The questions included the following one: "What materials are most interesting to you?" Many readers mentioned, among other materials, those pertaining to international life.

Accordingly, the editorial board, when approving its production schedule, decided to set aside a place in each issue for foreign materials. Once a week it would print the page "Events in the World; in individual issues — on the front page — it would provide information in the series "Yesterday Abroad."

What, then, is the structure of the column "Events in the World"?

As a rule, it opens with a series of items with the general title "In the Countries of Socialism." Our oblast is closely related to the Romanian district of Hargita. In addition, the editorial office of NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA has had long-standing ties with the Bulgarian newspaper SLIVENSKO DELO. And so, two or three times a month we print collections of items under the title "In the District of Hargita: From the pages of the Newspaper INFORMATSIYA KHARGITEY" and "In Sliven District: From the pages of the Newspaper SLIVENSKO DELO." (We receive these newspapers and translators rapidly make selections for the editorial office.)

Other materials that are printed are provided under the series titles: "From All Continents," "Around the World," "TASS (or APN) Commentaries," "What the World Newspapers Are Writing," "Foreign Kaleidoscope," "News of Science and Technology," and photographs provided TASS or our coworkers who have been on tourist trips abroad.

And that, apparently, is how the editorial offices of the other oblast newspapers operate. But the selection of foreign materials is probably done differently. In our editorial office the person who engages in this is the issue manager — the responsible secretary or his deputy — in coordination with the editor.

The question arises: how, at a time when radio and television report in a timely manner about international events, should foreign materials be printed in the press? With regard to up-to-the-minute response, the newspaper loses to radio and television. Therefore, in our opinion, it is more desirable to reduce the flow of informational reports, and to publish a larger number of survey articles or commentaries. Therefore it would be desirable for TASS to provide us more frequently with special-purpose collections of items: about the cooperation among the socialist countries, about the unemployment in the capitalist countries, about crisis situations in the Western economy, about racial discrimination, the buildup of arms by the United States and by the NATO bloc, and the struggle being waged by the peoples of the earth for peace.

There is no need to repeat what timeliness in throwing light upon international life means for us. But the rigid confines of our schedule do not permit us to print materials that come in over the teletype at the end of the day. We are late with those materials. So we do not print them the next day: they are no longer of interest to the reader. We wait for new reports in the morning, but. . .

During recent years, the teletype communications has begun operating at 0800 hours, instead of 0900, as it used to. It was thought that this was done for the time-responsive transmission of important materials to be printed in the issue. But routine information is transmitted in the morning, and the shifting of our schedule by one hour did not provide any great benefit for us. At the same time this procedure complicated the work of the telegraph operators, who have a 36-hour week.

Our opinion: it would be desirable to standardize the flow of information that is transmitted. Practically speaking, any oblast newspaper can use approximately one-tenth of what has been transmitted, and frequently it can use considerably less. But the receipt of these materials requires the expenditure of a large amount of scarce paper (it becomes waste paper on the very same day) and electrical energy, and it causes expensive equipment to wear out more rapidly.

And there is another problem. We receive a very large amount of large-sized items. Is there any need to transmit them by teletype in large quantity? Certain ones are even duplicated. . . A large number of corrections are sent.

As for illustrations that we receive, the ones that we are primarily interested in are, naturally, those dealing with the countries of socialism, and photographs dealing with specific events. We are much less interested in "exotic items" and various kinds of curiosities that arrive at the editorial office.

[Filler] In replying to our questions, the chief releasing officer of the local-press group at the main editorial office of foreign information at TASS, T. Martynova said:

"For republic, kray, and oblast newspapers we send out practically all the information that goes to the central press. Moreover, the difference in receipt of information between the central and, say, the oblast newspaper, as a rule, does not exceed 10-15 minutes. In addition, every day we send out selections of items on a related topic: "From All

Continents," "The World In Orbit," "News of Culture Abroad," "In the Cities and Capitals of the World." Incidentally, we always try to meet halfway the editorial offices that send us, over the teletype, requests for the selections that they need.

"In addition to current information, the press bureau communicates over the teletype TASS bulletins, as well as three postal heralds."

Apart from TASS, the APN also works for the local press. APN has 744 subscribers. Senior reviewer at the APN Dissemination Department, V. Stepanova says,

"Every day the agency disseminates the herald 'International Information,' which regularly publishes materials provided by APN foreign correspondents and agencies of the countries in the socialist community, and articles and commentaries from well-known Soviet journalists specializing in foreign affairs."

(As for time-responsiveness, we learned, by telephoning the Dissemination Department on 2 July, for example, that they had sent out a herald that was dated 5 July.)

Illustrative material?

Chief of the TASS Photographic Material Editorial Office for the central and local press, G. Nadezhdin, says,

"For local newspapers we disseminate photographs on two subscriber lines -- to subscriber 4 and subscriber 12, but subscriber 12 is reserve. Over subscriber line 4 we send out 90 photographs a month, of which as many as 40 percent deal with events abroad. Over the reserve subscriber line we send out 17 photographs. As for 'curiosities' and 'exotic items,' the percentage of them is very small. Incidentally, many newspapers print them eagerly. But, for the most part, we transmit, over subscriber line 12, selections of items dealing with the socialist countries.

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CSO: 1800/445

NATIONAL

MLYNAR PREDICTS SHORT DURATION FOR ANDROPOV 'ERA'

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German Jan 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Zdenek Mlynar: "Andropov's Provisional Reign"]

[Text] All Western observers tend to emphasize the fact that Yuriy Andropov is the first head of the CPSU who, prior to assuming that post, was the head of the KGB. They further emphasize that he is the first Soviet leader to have a good deal of foreign policy experience. All in all, they are satisfied: the Brezhnev legacy has passed into the hands of a man whom they all consider intelligent, more or less pragmatic and capable of conducting calculable policies. And as far as calculability goes, that would seem to be considered the supreme value in political life by Western (and it also seems Eastern) professional politicians.

To the Top at an Advanced Age

But there is one important fact the Western observers do not see, strangely enough. Andropov also happens to be the first head of the CPSU to assume that post at the ripe age of 68. If he is reelected to that post at the next party congress, he will be as old as Brezhnev was when he died—after only one term in office. Neither he, nor anyone else could seriously entertain the thought that he will remain head of the party after that time. Thus, Andropov's reign would appear to be limited to about 7 years—which is less than two terms of an American President. By Soviet standards, this comes close to being a mere provisional reign. Stalin was in power for 29 years; Krushchev stayed on for 11 and Brezhnev for 18.

Under these circumstances, the question is what is really calculable in terms of political developments in the Soviet Union. The joy over the fact that there was no confusing struggle for succession and no dangerous conflict inside the Soviet empire may be shortlived. Perhaps these conflicts have only been postponed for a few years.

Andropov is not interested in staying in power as long as possible but in securing in relatively short order the things he considers important over the long haul. In fact, he must do at the very beginning of his reign what his predecessors did not do until the end of theirs: build up an heir who suits his taste.

It has taken every previous head of the CPSU about 5 to 7 years to place his people in the most important posts in all the crucial apparatus—the party, the state, the economy, the police and the army. Under conditions of the so-called collective party leadership—which is to say in the Politburo and the Secretariat—a capable secretary-general creates a situation in the course of this time where the decisive majority of the leadership owes its career to him personally. The collective continues to exist but the relationships have turned around. It is not the party chief who owes his position to the members of the collective—as he did at the beginning of the process—but they who owe their position to him. This then enables the party chief to put his own personal stamp on the history of "real socialism" and to try to implement the major part of what he considers to be his political program.

Forced to Act Quickly

But this time frame is something Andropov cannot really count on. On the one hand, he must try to fulfill his task more quickly and on the other hand, he must face the fact that only his heirs will be able to implement his policies. The only thing he can do for them is to lay the groundwork as best he knows how.

What are the political goals Andropov can pursue? It does not take an expert in the dark science of Kremlinology to answer this question. Fairly reliable deductions can be made from known facts. I believe it is sufficient to recall Andropov's three major life experiences.

The first was his experience as Soviet ambassador in Budapest at the time of the Soviet military intervention in Hungary in the fall of 1956. This experience excludes the possibility that Andropov does not know exactly what the differences are between the Stalinist and the post-Stalinist phase of the Soviet system. It also excludes the possibility that he might have any illusions about what might and what might not be achieved in an open contest with the Soviet machinery of power. And finally, he has no doubts whatever about what the West could do in a crisis situation and whether it would risk direct conflict with that power machinery over the "ideals of freedom and democracy."

Andropov's second experience is that of a top-ranking party apparatchik in Moscow during the Krushchev era. This gives him an utterly clear sense of the limits set to all efforts to institute "reforms from above." He is aware of the sad fate of those who overestimated their capabilities in this regard. He will never commit such mistakes.

No Illusions

His third experience is that of being head of the KGB and in that capacity, a member of the Politburo. To gain this particular experience, Andropov had a full 15 years at his disposal. After that time, a man cannot have any illusions about anything or anyone connected with Soviet policies or world affairs any longer. Under the best of circumstances, Andropov might not have any illusions about the KGB, the Politburo or himself either. I do not know

how far he has progressed in this direction but if all the talk about his superior intellect is true, he must have come quite a ways already.

In order for an intelligent and pragmatic individual to have all these experiences in the Soviet political hierarchy and for his own political career not to suffer all the same, he must dispose of several very specific traits. Above all, he must be content to act as an instrument and servant of the socio-political system rather than its creator. And, in the final analysis, he must also be convinced deep down that enlightened absolutism is a more viable system than liberal democracy. Furthermore, it is as good as certain that such an individual would be something of an adventurer and gambler who loves power and is not quite content with a situation where gambling with power and for power is absent. Insofar as privilege and personal advantage is concerned—these, after all, can be gained in a less risky way in the Soviet system.

Crisis in the Soviet Bloc

Now what can we expect of an individual who has such traits and experiences given the fact that he has attained to the top position in the Soviet system for a limited period of time? Of course this also depends on the objective circumstances in which he actually attained power. In Andropov's case, they are marked not only by economic problems but by a social and political crisis. This crisis is knocking at the door of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet bloc loud and clear.

In contrast to Krushchev, Andropov will probably begin by publicly admitting the existence of this crisis. And in contrast to Brezhnev, he will not make out that there is no crisis and everything will remain the way it was. He is fully aware of the crisis and will be trying to save the Soviet system in time from its destructive consequences and take whatever preventive measures he can. In this sense, Andropov's reign might create a favorable atmosphere for new reforms in the USSR.

But from Andropov's point of view—what kind of reforms could they be? They will certainly not be the programmatic ideas of so-called reform communism of the sixties which developed during the Krushchev era and culminated in the "Prague Spring" of 1968. To be sure, Andropov was not one of those—at least as was thought in Prague—who panicked and felt the dispatch of tanks to Czechoslovakia was unavoidable. His view was that Dubcek could be forced even in the absence of Soviet tanks to slow down the reform process. It is not likely, however, that Andropov will turn to Dubcek for advice today and would look to his ideas for a recipe of how to overcome the present crisis.

The Andropov era might open the way for a number of economic reforms. At the same time, however, every effort will be made to keep the political consequences of such measures under the full control of the CPSU central committee and the KGB. It will be an economic reform, in other words, similar to the Hungarian model in content but more toothless in political respects. There will be no political democracy; no pressure "from below" against the causes of the

crisis but a rational policy pursued by an enlightened despot who will be trying to overcome the causes of the crisis gradually; without any eruptions and without destruction.

But is that really possible ? Hardly—if we consider those components of the crisis of the Soviet system which are conditioned by the system itself or by the chronic lack of feedback as between the power structure and society as a whole. But this does not mean that Andropov could not bring about any change at all on the basis he may create for himself. Using this basis, it is conceivable that he could effect a technocratic-bureaucratic reform which would help the market gain more of an influence and industry more independence in the Soviet economy while strengthening the pressure of economic factors in agriculture and in the relations between agriculture and industry.

An important socio-political outgrowth of such reforms could be a transformation of the Soviet power elite. Similar to the Brezhnev era, when the social ideologues were removed from decision-making positions in the elite and replaced by obedient bureaucrats, a new reform might supplant the bureaucrats with managers. The main difference between the two would be that the managers look upon their operations in terms of performance and efficiency—and are themselves judged by these standards—and not in terms of how much obedience and subservience they display toward those "above." That would be no mean achievement. Compared to the present situation, it would certainly constitute progress to introduce success and the career requirements of the performance society as a decisive criterion for the Soviet power elite to follow.

It is possible to conceive of a social force that might be capable of bringing this change about. The task could be fulfilled by an alliance composed of the technocratic groups within the state and economic bureaucracies and the technocratically oriented officers of the army and the KGB. It is also easy to conceive of the ideological underpinnings of such a process in the form of slogans inveighing against corruption, nepotism, arbitrary actions and irresponsible bureaucratic inertia. In present-day Soviet society which has been suffering for decades from corruption and irresponsible bureaucratic inertia, such a course would encounter a social echo and wide consensus. Such an ideology calling for a strong but "clean" government that moves against widespread corruption, laziness and utter inefficiency could then be justified.

Less Corruption ?

The rise of Andropov protege Aliyev may be symptomatic for such a development. Aliyev is said to have removed some 2,000 corrupt, lazy and inefficient apparatchiks from a number of positions in Azerbaijan in short order and to have replaced them with efficiency-oriented, as yet uncorrupted young people who primarily came out of the KGB apparatus. In a certain sense, some similar tendencies can be observed in present-day Poland. Professional officers are not only being given civilian posts under martial law but on a long-term basis. The expectation is that they will be less corrupt and more disciplined.

Andropov has quite obviously left an imprint on the ways in which attempts are being made to resolve the political crisis: intervention not by the Red Army but by Polish surrogates; army and police as the mainstays in an extreme situation in which the power of the Communist Party has collapsed; the attempt to gain at least a little sympathy among the population by imprisoning representatives of the bankrupt Gierek regime. But at the same time, members of the stubborn democratic opposition are thrown in jail, too. And, as soon as the power of the bankrupt elite has been forcibly secured once again, a kind of "new economic policy" will be instituted and an attempt will be made to "Kadarize" Poland—which may well happen soon enough.

Changing of the Generations

All this gives an indication of the kind of people who will "get to the top" both in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc generally as soon as Andropov has filled all the positions with his own men. Aside from the traits already mentioned, they will have one other thing in common—they will belong to the generation of the 50 and 60 year-olds. Given present-day conditions, this amounts to a genuine changing of the generations, the accession of the "young cadres." As far as the 50 year-olds are concerned, a majority of them probably supports the expected Andropov policies. Of the 60 year-olds, only a few will be chosen because many of them represent the very type of bureaucrat whose time is just now running out. The major chances offered to Andropov in the area of domestic policy during his presumably brief reign will be to preside over this changing of the guard among the cadres in the USSR and to proclaim the goals of the next stage of economic reform at the next CPSU party congress.

Paradoxically, the situation in which he finds himself is not unlike that of the main figures of the present Chinese leadership. Deng Xiaoping himself is typical of a man who has no hopes of achieving his aims during his lifetime which is why he is building up his heirs and trying to create the best possible starting positions for them. To some extent, Hu Yaobang could be considered Deng's heir; but in fact he himself is in much the same position as Deng. Leadership positions are being given to "young" men between the ages of 50 and 60. The search is on for a new economic policy; but at the same time, care must be taken to keep the political consequences for the system within bounds.

Perhaps this will impel Andropov—while he is in power—to seek a change in the relationship between the USSR and China that grew out of the conflict between the policies of Mao and Krushchev. Realistically speaking, however, both a genuine alliance or anything like Soviet hegemony over China are out of the question by now. But it is conceivable that a relationship such as that between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia might be established—although one must take into consideration that China cannot be equated with Yugoslavia—that it is in fact the biggest of the Asian big powers with all the consequences attached thereto. Even such an arrangement would lead to an overwhelmingly positive echo among the Soviet populace for which the Sino-Soviet conflict constitutes a traumatic burden.

Foreign Policy Concepts

It is not impossible that Andropov's entire foreign policy concept will begin to unfold from this perspective—particularly if it were possible to find a way out of the impasse created by the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan as part of the framework of a new Sino-Soviet relationship. This is conceivable but by no means certain. In foreign policy, the Brezhnev legacy poses a fundamental problem for Andropov. He must try to alter a situation in which Soviet relations to other socio-political systems are characterized more by conflict than by cooperation once again.

To start by altering Soviet-American relations—as Khrushchev did—would be best of all; but this is being made almost impossible for Andropov at the present time by the Reagan administration. It is therefore more likely that Andropov will await the outcome of the next U.S. Presidential elections. He himself may not have all that much time ahead of him; but he may hope to outlast Reagan at any event. At the moment then, any Andropov initiatives will have to concentrate on such world problems as present American government policy either cannot influence at all or at least cannot influence to the USSR's disadvantage. Problems of that kind would be related to the Third World or, in fact, to Sino-Soviet relations.

Of course this will have a bearing on Andropov's position on the armaments issue. For the moment, things are unlikely to change as against the period preceding the death of Brezhnev. On these issues, of course, every representative of the CPSU is subject to influences other than his own desires. The limits to the freedom of action of any secretary-general will be set by the policies of the United States, the main adversary; the position taken by the Soviet military-industrial complex and by the strained economic situation in the Soviet Union.

In the relatively brief time available to Yuriy Andropov's reign under the best of circumstances none of the issues will thus be resolved that have a bearing on the long-term viability or lack of same of socio-political systems of the Soviet type. During that time, the Soviet system will not undergo any fundamental change. Nonetheless, this time period need not be without significance. Andropov will be trying to stabilize the Soviet system once more. But even if he succeeds, he will only achieve relative stabilization, for perhaps 10 years. The question concerning the viability of the Soviet system for another 10 years will not be resolved until after he passes from the scene.

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NATIONAL

NABIYEV PRAISES INTER-REPUBLIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 18-28 carries a 9,000-word article titled "The Role of the Leninist Nationality Policy of the CPSU in the Establishment of the Material-Technical Base of Developed Socialism" by R. N. Nabihev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party. Nabihev outlines economic development in his republic since 1917 and argues that what has been achieved is the result of the "active mutual help and support of all the fraternal republics of the Soviet Union." He notes, however, that there is a lag in capital construction in Tajikistan and that more effective use must be made of the "rapidly growing labor resources of the republic."

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KULICHENKO REVIEWS LENIN'S ROLE IN FORMATION OF USSR

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 43-54 carries a 9,000-word article titled "According to the Leninist Plan, On the Basis of Leninist Principles" by M. I. Kulichenko. The article reviews Lenin's ideas on the formation of a federal state combined with a unitary party and his opposition to any plan for "autonomization" of the nationalities. Kulichenko concludes that the Soviet authorities have continued to follow Lenin's principles.

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PROPAGANDIST SUPPORT OF FIVE-YEAR PLAN DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 71-82 carries a 9,600-word article titled "Party Organizations and the 'Propagandist in Support of the Five-Year Plan' Movement" by V. M. Malyayev. The article describes in detail the efforts of the Soviet Union's propagandists to provide ideological support to the country's economic development. It provides data on the number of people involved, the types of training provided, and the nature of cooperation with party committees.

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CURRENT SYSTEM OF PARTY-POLITICAL TRAINING DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 98-106 carries a 7,200-word article titled "The Activity of the CPSU in the Ideological-Theoretical Preparation of Leading Cadres" by I. I. Nikolayev. The article describes the history, current structure and functions of the party-political educational system.

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CONFERENCE ON SOVIET CONSTITUTIONAL LAW HELD

[Editorial Report] Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 136-140 carries a 3,800-word article titled "The Constitution of the USSR Lives and Works" by P. N. Smykov. Published under the rubric "Scientific Life," the article describes an October 1982 conference held in Moscow on "The Five Years of the Constitution of the USSR and the Development of Soviet Science on State and Law," which was organized by the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law. The various speakers, who included A. G. Yegorov and V. N. Kudryavtsev, traced the history of Soviet constitutional development and stressed the Soviet federalism had proved itself and would survive for a long time.

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GUBOGLO ON GROWING IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

[Editorial Report] Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 11, November 1982 pages 33-39 carries a 6,000-word article titled "The Great Russian Language--The Language of International Intercourse, the Language of Friendship and Brotherhood of the Peoples" by M. Guboglo. The article describes the growing importance of Russian in various sectors of social life in the non-Russian republics of the USSR and provides statistics on publications in Russian in the republics.

CSO: 1800/548

REGIONAL

RUSSIAN WRITER ON KAZAKH THEMES RECALLED

Alma-Ata PROSTOR in Russian No 8, Aug 82 pp 181-184

Article by S. Sagalovich: "My Song Will Live": The Kazakh Theme in the Creative Work of Anton Sorokin

Text The portrayal by writers of one nationality of the life of another people is one aspect of the creative interaction of national artistic cultures which has great socio-political significance.

The literature of Siberia in the 20's opened up common paths with all Russian literature, based on its advanced democratic and realistic tendencies. In this regard the creative work of the writer Anton Sorokin, who was undeservedly forgotten over a long period of time and who was an original and distinctive artist, is of particular interest.

For us the interest in A. Sorokin's work results largely from the fact that the Russian writer knew Kazakh folklore and included elements of it in his works; consequently, the themes and images of Kazakh oral traditions became a fact of Russian literature. The creative work of A. Sorokin is inextricably linked with Kazakhstan. Sorokin always had at the center of his attention the history, culture, spiritual and daily life of the Kazakh people, their attitudes, their past and future, and the features of their national character. Having become an object of artistic portrayal, Kazakhstan could not fail to influence the world perception of the writer.

The unique and original talent of Sorokin aroused the great liking of A.M. Gor'kiy. Addressing Siberian literary people, he wrote: "You Siberians should collect everything that has been written about Anton Sorokin and publish a collection of these sketches. After a book of that kind is published, the publication of Sorokin's own work can be undertaken."¹ In the Siberian literary movement, which developed during the prerevolutionary period "under the specific conditions of a remote area,"² the international theme became an integral part of the creative work of many Russian writers: Vyach. Shishkov, Vs. Ivanov, F. Berezovskiy, V. Zazubrin and others. They were all united by the age-old tradition of protecting the "small" peoples in the outlying districts of Russia.

the intense interest in the material and creative life of Kazakhstan continued as well the prerevolutionary ethnographic science about the Kazakhs, a science which was established by Yadrinsev, Potanin and others, and which marked the start of the comprehensive study of Kazakh folklore.

The creative work of Anton Sorokin definitely lies in the mainstream of the ideological-esthetic quest of his time, a quest defined by a democratic mood, by a search for a more healthful source in the life of nature, by an interest in folklore and--in the prerevolutionary years--in the elements of spontaneous rebellion against the industrial-urban way of life, and by a utopic glorification of a primitive, spontaneous life, in which the "natural" person, who is "unspoiled" by civilization, is the ideal.

While understanding the nature of the times and its progressive tendencies, as well as the new problems related to the life and ways of the steppe inhabitants, A. Sorokin, even in his early creative period (1912-1915), set out his own civic positions. There is an urgent, publicistic zeal which permeates Sorokin's stylization of this period, as found in his collection "Zhertvam voyny" [To the Victims of War] (1915), including "Smertel'no ranennyye" [The Mortally Wounded], "Posledniy baksy Izhtar" [The Last Baksy Izhtar], "Zapakh rodiny" [Scent of the Homeland], "O chem plakal Kenzhetey" [What Kenzhetey Was Crying About] and others. They reveal the originality of the author's creative manner.

The humanism is obvious in an author who exposes many of the fundamental problems of life and who attempts to see ways to resolve them. The task of reproducing the life of another people, the task which the author faced, is a difficult one. It is no accident that Vs. Ivanov considered Sorokin's Kazakh works to be the most valuable part of his creative work. In acting as a defender of oppressed peoples in Siberia and Kazakhstan, Sorokin exposes gold, which perverts people's souls; he curses capitalism, which is penetrating the steppe and ruining the Kazakhs under the influence of trade and monetary relations remote from the daily life of the cattle raising nomad, and he raises his voice in defense of the suffering and oppressed.

The approaching imperialist war provoked angry protest from A. Sorokin, and his pamphlet "The Laughter of the Yellow Devil," which was published literally on the eve of the war, is a very vivid expression of this anger. The author emphasizes that war is a madness born of gold and that capital was the perpetrator of war. "The Laughter of the Yellow Devil" is not about a Kazakh theme, but an organic link does exist between the pamphlet and Sorokin's Kazakh stories.

For Sorokin literature was not simply a reflection of life but also a means of struggle. The themes of Sorokin's early creative work make it possible to note the obvious "anti-civilization" attitude in his position. His stories reflected the penetration of bourgeois civilization into the steppe and showed that capitalism carries with it not only economic inequality but also the moral disintegration of people, that it was killing people and killing the best features of man. The dark, impenetrable steppe, which saw death in the city, was preserved for a long time in the

representation of Sorokin's characters. For example, one of them says in the story "Zapakh rodiny"; "...They came from no one knew where, they brought with them air that is close, they seized our meadow lands, our wintering grounds, they began to plough over the graves of our fathers, the Kirghiz were crowded out."³

In his allegories and parables Sorokin touches on the complex problems of daily life during the final period of the revolution, when there was a strengthening of the critical principle and the exposure of the curse of the capitalist world. In his novella "Zarzaman, ili plach vremeni" *[Zarzaman or the Lament of Time]*⁴ and the story "Strashnyy tanets kuterem" *[The Terrible Dance of Commotion]*⁵, Sorokin writes about the oppression of the Kazakhs, who were dying out. The story is full of profound gripping drama; one is struck by the depth to which the author has penetrated the specific features of daily life for the cattle-raising nomad, by his excellent knowledge of the traditions and customs of the people.

The rapid development of technology and the influence of the city exert, in Sorokin's opinion, a destructive effect on the life in the steppe: "...Woe to you, the Kirghiz people! People, who live in stone boxes have that kind of heart and that kind of soul. Woe to You! You hear Atbay crying from the stone box of the ant-hill city" ("Krik Atbaya" *[The Cry of Atbay]*). The allegorical story "Aykhno" also exposes the "city" from positions of steppe patriarchy.

Critics noted that in his patriarchal concepts Sorokin was close to Tolstoyan ideals. The researcher A.G. Kandeyev thinks that "the sources of the basic themes in the creative work of A. Sorokin are linked to the name of Tolstoy,"⁶ Sorokin would very quickly feel the weakness of his "patriarchal" ideas.

In criticizing capitalist civilization, Sorokin reminded readers of the hostility to the "city in general." The city as the antithesis of the steppe runs through many of Sorokin's stories about Kazakhs: "Neponyatnaya pesnya" *[Incomprehensible Song]*, 1912, "Zarzaman, ili plach vremeni" (1913), "Strashnyy tanets kuterem" (1913), and in the novellas in his collection entitled "Zhertvam voyny" (1915), etc.

The author's 1916-1918 stories, "Rakhim," "The Aul of Dzhenar," "Adzhibulat," "Botakur," "Podvig Dzhagafar" *[The Heroic Deed of Dzhagafar]*, and "Maymudzhan," which are devoted to the struggle of the Kazakh people against the tsarist punitive expeditions, are acutely social in nature. True historical events are reflected in the story "Birsaat," which was originally called "Podvig Dzhagafara." It puts forward clearly the idea of the awakening of the popular masses, and the preconditions for the appearance of popular leaders of rebellion in the steppe, leaders like Amangel'dy. The author had a great feeling for the events of the 1916 uprising. The story "Saduakas" contains nothing conditional or fictional. It contains an accurate portrayal of the characters and an understanding of the psychology of heroes. The stories "Zheleznaya ptitsa" *[The Iron Bird]*, "Duana Bayman," "Saduakas," "Plevok v glaza Dutovu" *[Sight in the Face of Dutov]*, are united by a common mood--the spiritual breaking of the characters, class insight

and a growing feeling of anger. The heroes are different and individual, but are similar in that they embody high moral ideas of good, a sense of self-worth, pride and love of freedom. The themes are similar in the stories "Duana Bayman" and "Plevok v glaza Dutovu." In the story "Za strakh and uzas v glazakh" the action developed in an atmosphere which contrasts with real events. War, blood and death all around, but in Pavlodar there is a masked ball, with prizes, all organized by the ataman Annenkov himself. The first prize goes to the costume which best expresses fear and terror. But the "prize winner" turns out to be a simple Kazakh, who has ended up at the ball by mistake and it is his face, sorrowful, unhappy, full of fear and suffering, which is taken for a mask. The author called this story a "story with a moral." Much later in one of his autobiographical sketches, "Chelovek, kotoryy eshche ne umer" [The Man Who Has Not Died Yet] (SIBIR', 1925), A Sorokin wrote that the excesses of the Kolchak followers aroused in his soul a "great desire to write a fiery poem of hatred." It can be said with assurance that each of his stories is part of that poem. His famous "33 skandala Kolchaku" [Thirty-three Scandals of Kolchak], and the stories "Aul Dzhenara" (1916), and "Maymudzhan" (1917) reflect the bold and principled position of an honest artist in the period of the Kolchak terror. In these stories realistic detail are interwoven with allegorical imagery: "...all misfortunes come from a firing machine. It seemed that these were the spirits of evil which have taken up arms against the Kirghiz and chomp noisily with their teeth; they crunch the Kirghiz bones and spit out the bloody spittle on the ground..."⁷

With fixed attention to the unbelievably difficult conditions of the Kazakhs' life, Sorokin creates a multitude of literary types based on the inhabitants of the Kazakh steppe: the wise old Kinzhetay, the intrepid and inexorable Duana Bayman, the grieving Sultanbay and others. The female characters are particularly captivating.

Anton Sorokin, the writer-democrat and internationalist, hated the Great-Power chauvinistic attitude of the bourgeoisie toward the small ethnic groups. Sorokin addressed this problem in many stories: "Syn beloy materi," [Son of the White Mother], "Zov prirody" [The Call of Nature] and "Stepnoy sultan" [The Steppe Sultan]. In one of his best pamphlets "Ne poyte pesen svoikh" [Do Not Sing Your Own Songs], he comes down angrily against the indifferent public, which did not want or manage to understand the Kazakh executioners in whose songs Sorokin found the age-old lament of the oppressed younger brothers concentrated: "...We watch the barefoot dancer Isadora Duncan with pleasure but watching a barefoot Kirghiz brings no pleasure."

The old "Aksakal" speaks bitter words of reproach and hurt: "We sang sad songs but we did not weep! This is the song of the Kirghiz people, but why are you laughing, unwise ones? We brought you our best, and you did not see its worth."⁸

After the Great October Socialist Revolution, there begins a qualitatively new period in Sorokin's creative work. He overcomes his patriarchal illusions, and the portrayal of the cultural transformation of the life of the nomadic peoples under Soviet authority comes to occupy an ever greater place

in his works. The writer attempts first of all to understand the great role of the revolutionary transformation in the consciousness and life of the people. Sorokin greets the Great October Socialist Revolution in elevated, enthusiastic tones in the "Simfoniya revolyutsii" [Symphony of Revolution], written after the establishment of Soviet power: "It is easy and joyful to work in the great epoch of the reconstruction of life!" Prospects for the future are interpreted by the author with more depth than before.

The hymn of the new life, sung to labor which is free and joyous, which is not marred by fear of tomorrow, a hymn to the liberated life of the Kazakh inhabitants of the steppe under conditions of socialist reality-- that is the leading theme in Sorokin's stories of these years.

"And in places where there were wolf holes you, the new and capable Kazakhs who have acquired learning, will build concrete Kazakh cities. The life of October marches victoriously along the emerald steppes of Kazakhstan."⁹

A. Sorokin's stories which are devoted to the love felt by the peoples of the Soviet land for the great Lenin are of particular interest. Sorokin speaks with great conviction through his characters in "Kurgane Azakh" [The Azakh Burial Mound]. We must build a burial mound for Lenin, a living Azakh burial ground. And let this be a monument to testify that the Kirghiz people are alive and honor the person who gave the people a better life...¹⁰

This is a poetic illustration of the Kazakhs' acceptance of their renewed life. The writer's attention was attracted to new trends in the development of Kazakhstan. And in a declarative, loud manner he talks about himself as a Kirghiz [Kazakh] writer: "I, Anton Sorokin, as a Kirghiz writer, cannot fail to greet you, the pioneers of a new life. You, who have received the knowledge and teaching of the city, will return to your native steppes to provide cultural and medical assistance to your own people."¹¹

The story "Chto znayet Adel'kan o Lenine" [What Adel'kan Knows About Lenin] was written with a sharp publicist passion. It contains a system of images which is noticeably enriched and expanded. Unexpected associations, and metaphoric complexities and even a certain roughness of style--all this is associated with a creative search for a structure of imagery and expression in the works with a Kazakh theme in the post-October period. However, the ideological and esthetic influence of the images on the readers is in no way weakened by this.

"I will tell you about Comrade Lenin. He is a great batyr. In previous times batyrs were bigger, one batyr Aygar walked across the Irtysh, he walked from one bank to the other, carrying mountains on his shoulders. Today the times are different, the batyrs are smaller, but the mind is big enough for the entire people."¹²

With the change in the way of life, the ideological trend of the statements by the "Kirghiz writer," Anton Sorokin, changed. More and more he was drawn to stories written in the first person. Socio-economic problems and esthetic evaluations of reality were expressed in direct declarations

by the author. Many of the author's digressions also characterized the ideological evolution of the Kazakh people described by Sorokin; through the mouths of their representatives they judged the past and the present, as well as the prospects for the future. This contributed to the gradual emergence of typical features as a result of the creation of typical situations. The folklore material which was introduced in various pieces expanded the range of Sorokin's creative works, it brought his legends, parables, and allegories closer to the real world, and it assisted profoundly in the manifestation of the creative principle.

"Creative work in the oral form," as V.I. Lenin stated, "embodies the aspirations and expectations of the people."¹³

Factors which were historically specific and which reflected the nature of the social and esthetic tasks of the writer forced Sorokin to address himself to folklore. The folklore of the Kazakhs was in the center of Sorokin's creative interests, both in the early and the later stages of his creative work; it was his basic "material." An ideological-esthetic analysis of Sorokin's best works provides the grounds for drawing a conclusion concerning Sorokin's creative individuality, which was manifested in his principled approach to the theme of other nationalities.

The stylistic use of the forms of Kazakh folklore give to Sorokin's works a particular coloration: they contain a vivid representation of the national way of life; its particular features are portrayed precisely, as are the various layers of the people's life. "What is the Kirghiz¹⁴ life like? They live with the steppe. When the steppe wakes up and begins to turn green, the Kirghiz feels in his soul the awakening of joy in life, like the green grass in the steppe. And as soon as the autumn winds begin and the steppe begins to be covered in snow, the joy in life begins to freeze over in the Kirghiz soul."¹⁵

Anton Sorokin belongs to that group of Russian writers who assimilate a national subject, finding in the life of a fraternal people everything necessary to construct a literary work: themes, plots, images. The life of the Kazakh, the author's desire to discover in particular the common elements related to the ethical and esthetic outlook of the Kazakh people and of Sorokin's own social and moral ideals, the specific features of the author's world view and the concrete forms in which it was manifested in Sorokin's works on the Kazakhs: all this became the main factor in Sorokin's own reincarnation as a "Kirghiz" writer. Moreover, we see clearly the author's world, his notions and concepts which give him the right to call himself that. "...I want to talk about the Kirghiz people. I cannot avoid talking about them... I understood the Kirghiz people, and they me...They called me a Kirghiz writer, who understands their needs and their unhappiness and joys" ("Kirgizskiy narod" [The Kirghiz People]).

"Are you not asking what the Kirghiz people are crying about? If you are asking, I will tell you. I will tell you about our land, about our water, about our meadow lands, about our valleys, our canyons and mountains... I will tell you everything up to the present time, I will tell you what

they were like before and what they are like now" ("Ne poite pesen"). The national uniqueness of the Kazakh people, a uniqueness which was embodied in A. Sorokin's works, and his mastery of the inexhaustible wealth of its folklore is one more piece of convincing evidence of the interaction and mutual enrichment of the Russian and Kazakh cultures.

In noting the "evolution of the portrayal of the Kazakh in Sorokin's creative work, and the social transformation of the Kazakh under changed historical conditions, we see, along with the fate of the Kazakh people, the ideological evolution in the historical concept of the writer himself, an evolution from the negative perception of the manifestations of prerevolutionary life in Kazakhstan with all the deformities of tsarism's colonial policy to the celebration of the new life born of Great October.

An analysis of the Kazakh themes in the creative work of A. Sorokin makes it possible to pose the question concerning a reverse influence of the author's reworking of Kazakh folklore on Kazakh literature. As early as 1914 the journal AYKAP published Sorokin's "Dar stepi--trava dzhusay" /The Gift of the Steppe--the Dzhusay Grass" ("Zapakh rodiny"), translated into the Kazakh language. Il'yas Dzhansugurov, the remarkable Kazakh-Soviet writer, translated "Zeleznaya ptitsa" ("Temir kus"). In 1922 the literary scholar, B. Kenzhebayev translated "Saduakas." The Kazakh people paid the writer Sorokin with gratitude and recognition for his accurate portrayal of their life.

One can talk about the existence of two stages in Sorokin's mastery of Kazakh folklore. At first this amounted to a stylization, a borrowing of individual details, and the introduction of typical themes and images of the people or themes transformed by the author, but with the growth of the writer's skills, the re-working and reinterpretation of the traditional images and plots became obvious. And although A. Sorokin's favorite genres remained the same under the historically new conditions of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, nonetheless, the unique artistic vision of the world as seen by the Kazakhs in the past was supplemented in Sorokin's creative work, as it was in real life, by the new understanding of the world, developing in the new Kazakh folklore through the thicket of conventional ideas of a previous time. And here again Sorokin subordinates the artistic elements of Kazakh folklore to the main creative task, that is, to show the history of the Kazakh people, their past and present, illuminated by the light of the future. Sorokin's sense of responsibility and understanding of the writer's role was growing stronger and stronger. The significance of his "Kazakh" works also lies in the fact that they reflect the common elements which characterized the united aspirations of the Russians and the Kazakhs, among whom there was a growing consciousness of the need to struggle jointly for liberation and a bright future. The words of one of Sorokin's heroes apply fully to the writer himself: "My song will live as long as the stone cities of the Kazakhs stand in place of the yurts."¹⁶

A. Sorokin turned to Kazakh themes throughout his creative life. There is evidence of this in the drafts and incompletely completed manuscripts in the writer's archives. Without the works which use the Kazakh themes it is difficult to

understand his legacy in the literary process of Siberian literature and Russian literature in general in the 20's and 30's of the 20th century. A. Sorokin's creative work is also of special interest because it constitutes colorful pages in the history of Russian-Kazakh cultural and literary unity.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. Gor'kiy, "Pis'ma. Sobr. soch. v 30 tomakh" Letters. Complete Collected Works in 30 Volumes, Moscow, GIKHL, 1955, Vol 30, pp 152-153.
2. V. Trushkin, "Literaturnaya Sibir' pervykh let revolyutsii" Literary Siberia in the First Years of the Revolution, Vostochno-Sib. kn. iz-vo, 1967, p 210.
3. A. Sorokin, "Zapakh rodiny" The Scent of the Homeland, OGA, f. 1073, op. 1, yed. khr. 275.
4. A. Sorokin, "Zarzaman, ili plach vremeni" Zarzaman, or the Lament of Time, SIBIRSKAYA NEDELYA, 1913, No 6, pp 10-13.
5. Ibid.
6. A.G. Kandeyeva, "L.N. Tolstoy and Siberia," UCHENYYE ZAPISKI OMSKOGO PEDAGOGICHESKOGO INSTITUTA IMENI GOR'KOGO, No 21, 1963.
7. A. Sorokin, "Maymudzhan," OGA, f. 1073, op. 1, yed. khr. 524.
8. A. Sorokin, "Ne poyte pesen" Do Not Sing Songs, OGA, f. 1073 op. 1 ed. kh. 314. L. 2. The history of this pamphlet is told by Professor T. Kakishev in his book "Saken Seyfullin," Molodaya Gvardiya, ZHSL, Moscow, 1972.
9. A. Sorokin, "Zhizn', dannaya Oktyabrem" The Life Given by October, 1927, OGA, f. 1073, op. 1, yed. khr. 138.
10. A. Sorokin, "Story about the Azakh Burial Grund," SIBIRSKIYE OGNI, 1927, No 6, p 53.
11. A. Sorokin, "Zhizn', dannaya Oktyabrem, OGA, f. 1073, op. 1, yed. khr. 138, L. 3.
12. A. Sorokin, "Skazki Adel'kana. (Chto znayet Adelkan o Lenine)" Tales of Adel'kan. (What Adel'kan Knows About Lenin), OGA, f. 1073, op. 1, yed. khr. 191, L. 1.
13. V.I. Lenin, "O literature i iskusstve" On Literature and Art, Moscow, GIKHL, 1957, p 610.
14. Sorokin subsequently used the correct name, Kazakhs, in all of his works.

15. A. Sorokin, "Ortanbay umer" Ortanbay Has Died, OGA, f. 1073 op.1,
yed. khr. 336, L 4.

16. A. Sorokin, "Tronutyye auly" Affected Auls, OGA, f. 1073, op. 1,
ed. khr. 280, L.6.

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REGIONAL

COLLECTION OF TURKMEN LAWS PUBLISHED

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 20 Nov 82 p 3

[Article: "Turkmen SSR Code of Laws"]

[Text] TURKMENINFORM--The first volume of the six-volume TuSSR code of laws has been published in Turkmen and in Russian.

The basic code of laws of the TuSSR is the Constitution of the Turkmen SSR adopted by the TuSSR Supreme Soviet 13 April 1978. It includes legislative acts and the most important joint decrees of the Central Committee of the TuSSR Communist Party and the TuSSR Council of Ministers and decrees of the TuSSR government of a general normative nature.

The code of laws of the Turkmen SSR is an official publication of the Presidium of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet and the TuSSR Council of Ministers.

The material in the first volume was formulated by the TuSSR Ministry of Justice with the participation of concerned ministries and departments of the republic.

The first volume includes legislative acts under the section "Legislation on the Social and State System".

In the following volumes there will be legislative acts on social development and culture, socio-economic rights of citizens, protection of the natural environment and rational utilization of natural resources, the national economy, justice and the maintenance of law and order.

The first volume was published by the "Turkmenistan" publishing house.

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REGIONAL

ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE HELD IN ASHKHABAD

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 20 Nov 82 p 3

[Article: "World Outlook and Science"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, TURKMENINFORM, 18 Nov--Questions of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the methodology of history and archaeology are at the center of attention of participants in an all-Union scientific conference which opened today, and was organized by the Central Council of Philosophy Seminars under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Council of Philosophy Seminars of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences, and the History Institute imeni Sh. Batyrov of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences.

Scholars from fraternal republics, Moscow and Leningrad will consider the methodological role of world outlook in science, historical-materialist concepts of social development, sociological methods in the theory of cultural processes in society, and other questions.

The conference was opened by Academician M. A. Annanepesov, secretary of the Department of Social Sciences and corresponding member of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences.

The all-Union conference will last two days.

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CSO: 1800/453

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES GUIDE AZERBAIJANI INSTITUTE'S WORK WITH APPLICANTS, STUDENTS

Baku KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA in Russian No 10, Oct 82, pp 78-84

/Article by Z. Verdiyeva, R. Yusifov: "Sociological Analysis of the Effectiveness of VUZ Operations"/

/Text/ Under the conditions of developed socialism the process of creating future specialists calls not only for the mastery of professional skills, but also for education in class self consciousness, a feeling of civil responsibility, and an active role in life. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "Together with the huge social and economic transformations there is under way today an active process of forming better human qualities -- the qualities of a person in communist society." ("Leninskem Kursom", Vol 5, p 48).

The problems of ensuring an organic linkage between problems of training and education have been seriously posed to the vice-chancellor's office and party organizations at the Azerbaijan Institute of Foreign Languages imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR when, implementing the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijani Communist Party, we undertook the search for reserves and potentials for improving the quality of specialist training and the efficiency of all forms of ideological and educational work.

Our institute trains foreign language teachers for secondary rural schools. The requirements made upon their moral make-up and professional qualities are invariably high. As G. A. Aliyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee stressed in a speech at the 31st Congress of the Azerbaijani LKSM / Lenin Young Communist League/: "The teacher in the school should serve as an example for imitation. This example should reinforce the norms which he provides in class and extra-curricular activities."

Studying the entire process of young specialist training and the existing system of ideological and party work from this angle, the party committee and the vice-chancellor's office turned to a sociological analysis which helped in scientifically generalizing and understanding the experience accumulated and concurrently engaging in a search for new methods and forms of work in the improvement of the training and educational process. Beginning in the spring of 1981, a small sociological laboratory began operation at the APIYs / Azerbaijan Pedagogical

Institute of Foreign Languages/ imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR. During this period the most important question among the complex of problems was that of making provisions for reaching the students. Valid criticism with respect to this problem was addressed to our VUZ by the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee, and the Baku Party Gorkom. We exerted considerable efforts to improve work in this area. Its most important components were sociological research and the study of public opinion. The area selected was the Lenkoranskiy Rayon in the republic, where the idea of conducting a sociological study of VUZ graduates was supported by party and soviet organs, institutions of public education and the sociological center at the Lenkoran' Gorkom. Research used the questionnaire method, for which workers at the laboratory prepared a "Questionnaire for young specialists". Naturally, the first experience was not free from shortcomings and errors, part of which were quickly corrected in the course of work. The research was conducted by stages and the results processed by hand, which somewhat delayed obtaining the results and required additional efforts.

Prior to the research we had no firm conviction as to which of the two most important factors -- the quality of VUZ training and educational work or the work conditions of young teachers -- had definitive influence in keeping VUZ graduates in their positions. In outlining research problems and directions we started with the speech of Comrade G. A. Aliyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee, which noted that "Some graduates have poor professional training, and do not have a thorough knowledge of social disciplines".

Primary attention in the study was directed towards the evaluation of specialists' professional and moral qualities. In order to ensure objectivity we studied the opinions of three groups: The young specialists themselves, teachers with terms of service of up to ten years, and the administrations of schools in which our graduates began their independent teaching activities.

The results of the first sociological study have already been tested and have found reflection in laboratory reports, and in a number of scientific articles and recommendations. In brief, their essentials are:

1. The study of young teachers' attitudes towards their profession indicated that the main body of them have proven themselves in their profession and have shown great adaptive potential. The prompt commencement of professional work and assignment to a position turned out to be extremely important.
2. Professional training was completely sufficient for assignment. The graduates themselves were more critical towards their professional potentials than the leaders of local organs of public education, which indicates some reduction in the norms and requirements made upon professional skills of teachers in rural regions.
3. In the course of the study it was revealed that a considerable number of young teachers were not engaged in self education, and were poorly involved in social-political and other work outside of class. The reason for this is a difference of opinion between specialists and the teachers themselves.

4. The influence of "acclimatization" of young specialists in work collectives upon their attachment to the position was determined. High levels of communications skills were manifested primarily by the younger graduates, which is evidence of the improvement of the morale and psychological climate in the VUZ in recent years.

Thus, the study showed that the specialists' training standards met requirements and that their professional skills were considered "good". In addition the graduates of recent years were more critical in evaluating their potentials than their senior comrades or school leaders.

This automatically brings to mind the first steps of our VUZ, created in 1973, when training was conducted using a program of education in one foreign language. Even in the first year we began the transition to a new system based upon bilingualism and using the most modern educational program of the nation's leading VUZes. Time has proven that this was the proper route. The first results of the survey are pleasing to us not only because of the improvements in the qualitative indicator of graduates' knowledge, but also by their active use of both foreign languages in practical work. This is supported by the year to year improvements in rural school graduates, where the average school certificate grade in foreign languages in the past five years has increased by almost one point.

We were also interested in how the pedagogical VUZ graduates found their jobs. Here the results were not so assuring, although the majority of the VUZ's alumni had picked the right profession, that of being a teacher. Initially many students based their plans upon other professions involving a knowledge of foreign languages, and did not abandon these ideas for quite some time. In such cases the process of adapting to the teaching profession was prolonged and difficult if conditions there, especially living conditions did not meet the requirements and habits as well as previous ideas of the graduate.

The sociological survey's results also partially explained the actions of those graduates who declined to respond. They were mainly guided by false ideas about the future teaching activity. At the VUZ they were not cultivated in a love of the teaching profession.

Even prior to the creation of the sociological laboratory our VUZ began work directed toward the professional orientation of young people, acting on the principle: "Find your student". For this purpose we established close contacts with schools for the intensive study of foreign languages, and specialized schools in Baku and regions of the republic. We established a mandatory requirement that secondary school graduates applying here have an inclination for teaching activity or a capability for studying foreign languages.

All this is not, however, the main issue. After all professional orientation work does not primarily require VUZ propaganda, but future specialists' concrete knowledge of their profession's content. We attempted to make maximum use of the potentials in traditional professional orientation work forms. These

include olympiads, open door days, various preparatory courses, and direct contacts with future secondary school graduates. A group of experienced specialists and senior teachers was selected. These people were sent to zones in the republic and districts in Baku to meet with students in general educational schools.

We distinguished 12 such zones in the republic, and in the 1981-82 academic year alone, with the help of local party and public organizations and organs of public education, we had more than 30 meetings with 2,000 boys and girls who had decided to continue their education in our institute. Such meetings helped the young people obtain answers to many questions concerning their future profession, and to finally make up their minds on this vital choice. During the course of the meetings we cleared up the false impression that the institute of foreign languages trained diplomats or translators. Many did not know that upon completion of work at the VUZ they would return to the countryside, to their rural school. By answering this question we reduced competition for our institute (from 5-6 per opening to 3-4). However, we feel it necessary to continue professional orientation work on just this plane.

Interviews with secondary school graduates were very productive. Characteristically, after the interviews, about 40% of the graduates did not submit their records to our VUZ. They thanked us for explaining the essentials of this profession and the content of their future work.

A course entitled "Professional orientation" has been included in the program at our VUZ. It also helps graduates conduct this work in the course of their teaching activities in the republic's schools.

The experience of the APIYa imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR in the professional orientation of young people and in creating ties with schools was examined at a joint session of the boards of the AzSSR Ministries of Education and of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. It was approved and recommended for application.

A unified comprehensive long term plan of ideological and educational work during 1981-1985 and beyond developed by the ideological commission of the institute's party committee serves the professional orientation of future specialists. The plan has a special section on professional orientation. In addition to the pre-VUZ forms of orientation mentioned above, the plan reflects numerous measures for work with students during the educational process. Thus, the entire system of students pedagogical practice was subjected to thorough restructuring. While previously basic attention was given to academic exercises, this teaching practice has now been supplemented with diverse forms of public and political work for the future teacher. Provisions are also made for conducting a number of purely pedagogical functions, for example, class leadership, pedagogue - educator, and others. There has been a considerable expansion of practical tasks in work with Pioneer organizations.

As is known, orientation for a future profession is more than knowledge of its specifics and structure. It is above all an inclination for work, and skill in organizing work and professional activity. Participation of students in a

third working semester is an important component of preparing specialists and in the formation of an active, vital role for them. Every year more than 600 students at our institute receive instructions to enter student construction detachments. More than 90% of these are outstanding students and activists. Our students work on the most diverse projects: Construction sites in Imishlinskiy Rayon, a fruit and vegetable sovkhoz and processing plant in Krasnodarskiy Kray, a cannery in Khudat, trade units working in baked goods stores in Baku.

Directing this very important matter, the VUZ party committee is also pursuing educational goals. As Comrade G. A. Aliyev stressed at the 31st Congress of the Komsomol: "Being a part of the single process of training specialists, work in student construction detachments should actively assist in the preparation of experienced and able organizers, and in the improvement of young people's moral and spiritual qualities". Working in student construction detachments, students conduct lectures and mass political work within the framework of social-political practical work. This summer alone they read 200 lectures to the public. These were on divers themes involving the propaganda decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, problems of the party's agrarian policy and Food Program.

In spite of definite successes in ideological work at the VUZ, during the sociological survey the disturbing fact was revealed that almost one half of the graduates did not continue public activities. What is the reason for this? After all, in the VUZ they were surrounded by departments of public professions, schools for young lecturer, social and political practical work, and the majority of them repeatedly participated in summer work semesters. Why then, upon becoming teachers do they display passivity in the school's public life? The efforts of public organizations and the VUZ's entire pedagogical collective were mobilized to determine the reason for this. The party committee thought out additional measures, studied the effectiveness of existing forms of ideological-educational work with students, and specific measures were taken to intensify the ideological directedness both of the entire educational process and the teaching of social and political disciplines. After all, the departments of the social sciences are the center of ideological and political work at the VUZ. It is the important calling of VUZ social scientists to equip the younger generation with a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, to develop an internalized need to study the works of the founders of the great revolutionary teachings, party documents, and the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. These social scientists should also actively assist the vice chancellor's office and the party committee in the education of ideologically convinced and morally mature specialists.

In order to increase the role of social scientists in the VUZ collective, the party committee introduced the practice of self-accounting (samootchet) of communist social scientists at department party offices and at the party committee. During these sessions there is a serious discussion of the teacher's role and personality, and the value of his party word.

Social scientists' public and political activities have come under the supervision of the party committee. The overwhelming majority of them have public duties not only at the VUZ, but also at rayon and city party committees. They conduct lectures, and render assistance to the leaders of theoretical seminars and schools in the system of party training and economic education at enterprises and organizations in the city. Unfortunately, some social scientists do not show the necessary initiative. Our sociologists are now fully engaged in problems of improving the effectiveness and educational direction of lectures and seminar exercises in social and political disciplines.

In March 1982 the the Baku Party Committee office of the Azerbaijani CP examined the problem of the institute party committee's leadership over the work of social science departments and of increasing their role in the moral and aesthetic education of the student body in light of the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological, Political-Educational Work". The decree justly notes shortcomings in the efficiency of our work.

One still encounters evidence of low aesthetic standards among students. As they are not followed by discussions, visits to theaters, exhibits, and cinemas are of little effect and do not have the spiritual potential that they undoubtedly would have in the presence of such measures. Aesthetic education is poorly presented in student dormitories, where problems of living arrangements are overshadowed by other, equally important aspects of educational work.

The struggle against the penetration of bourgeois ideology is an important component in the ideological and moral education of the future pedagogue and foreign language specialist. The additional information which foreign language students obtain requires a thorough intensification of attention to this facet of the educational process, representing a wide field for the activities of VUZ social scientists.

The party gorkom office decision was discussed at a party meeting, which ratified a concrete plan of measures for improving work standards at social science departments and for intensifying students' moral esthetic education, in particular through the utilization of the sociological laboratory's potentials.

Guardian (kurator) work has become widespread here, just like all the VUZes in the republic. We feel that guardianship is not only a matter for experienced teachers, and have therefore enlisted a considerable number of young teachers, the majority of whom are communists, into this work. We have an active council of guardians and there are close ties between teachers and students. The guardians annually present confidential reference reports on their wards, which reflect not only problems in the student's educational and discipline standards, but also his degree of activity in public and political activity. The party and komsomol committees pay great attention to guardians' activities, supporting their initiatives to bind together the processes of training and education. Every student here knows from the first class that a five point on the report card is still not an indicator of a future specialist's social maturity.

Students' active, vital attitudes are also reflected by the fact that they have started paying more attention to such an unhealthy phenomenon in their environment as that of "thingism" (veshchizm). In all departments there have been organized academic disputes on the theme: "On the Values of the True and the False", at which students have openly named their comrades who show off expensive jewelry. "Noisy weddings with a cavalcade of automobiles" have also been the object of discussions.

The party committee and the vice-chancellor's office have assumed an uncompromising position with respect to protectionism, the desire of some parents to use their official positions to obtain privileges for their children. Two years ago we informed party organs about the improper actions of two parents who obtained enterprise requests for the allocation of subsidies to their children. We have similarly spoken out in cases where our teachers started to ask for such benefits for their children.

Some associates at the institute, throwing out elementary moral norms, tried to favor students during the examination period and even tried to instigate students to collect money for gifts. They were released from work at the VUZ.

The measures taken by the party committee and the vice-chancellor's office were completely understood by the collective, as indicated by the results of discussions of these negative factors at all chairs, departments, and party groups. Today everyone at the APIIYa vividly understands that the active role of students has a direct link to the active role of teachers and educators, and that every teacher should recognize and deeply feel a high sense of responsibility for the moral make-up of future specialists. This is a fundamental principle and enters into all the ideological and educational work of the VUZ collective.

Data from the sociological survey show that in a number of cases the process of placing VUZ graduates depends upon factors of adaptation to the place of work. For example, some difficulties have arisen as the result of some administrators' carelessness, formalism and at times neglect of legal provisions for job placement and material and service support for young specialists. The institute's research resulted in the development of recommendations not only for the VUZ but also for Lenkoranskiy Rayon. A few days ago the institute received a letter stating that the Lenkoran' Party Gorkom examined the VUZ sociological survey suggestions and following them, has developed a plan. The letter also noted practical measures which have already been put into effect. In them we saw the essential features of the work done, and its future, directed towards the implementation of the February 1982 decree of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee: "On Further Improvements in the Organization of the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research in the Republic in Light of Decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU".

A special session of the party committee examined problems in the further improvement of sociological research. The institute council, having discussed the report of the sociological research laboratory, made a series of recommendations. In particular, the number of active members of the laboratory will be increased, the subject matter of further research will be more accurately determined,

and there was an examination of concrete measures for the transition to more broad scale research, the expansion of forms and methods of sociological analysis, and the use of data processing machinery.

All this will make it possible for us to expand and improve the work in compiling a "social passport" for the collective and each member, and to place not only the training and educational process, but also the study of its effectiveness on a scientific basis. By using sociological analysis, the vice-chancellor's office and public organizations have obtained additional methods of studying practically all social processes occurring in the institute. Sociological research helps improve the scientific basis of decisions and assists in avoiding superficial conclusions and evaluations of work.

The sociologist should become an important figure in the life of any VUZ, This is not just a fashion, but a requirement of the times.

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CSO: 1800/396

REGIONAL

UKRAINE LAW AND ORDER CONFERENCE HELD

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 16 Oct 82 p 3

/Article: "To Strengthen Socialist Law and Order" /

/Text/ On 14-15 October a republic scientific-practical conference took place in Kiev, dedicated to further improving the public prosecutor's supervision of the examination of criminal matters in court and of raising the level of state prosecution. The Office of the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR organized the conference.

UkSSR Public Prosecutor F. K. Glukh opened the conference.

The reports of V. N. Prik, UkSSR deputy public prosecutor, and Academician B. M. Babiy, the director of the Ukrainian Institute of the State and Law of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, and the speeches of participants and reports of legal scholars stressed the role of legal means in the struggle against criminality and other violations of the law, especially wastefulness, mismanagement, violations of State discipline, misappropriation of socialist property, bribery and speculation, infringements upon the life and health of Soviet citizens, and hooliganism.

The importance of the public prosecutor's office was noted in realizing the goals and tasks of the law, ensuring fulfillment of the law's requirements concerning thorough, complete and objective examination of cases, and strict individualization of punishment measures. All of this should facilitate increasing the deterrent influence of judicial activities aimed at educating citizens in the spirit of strict observance of Soviet laws and the rules of socialist society, conscientious relationship to work, careful regard for socialist property, and respect for individual rights and dignity. USSR General Prosecutor A. M. Rekunkov spoke and participated in the work of the conference.

A. S. Chumak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee department chief; S. N. Mukha, UkSSR State Security Committee (KGB) chairman; V. I. Zaychuk, UkSSR Minister of Justice; A. N. Yakimenko, chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Court; V. V. Durdinets, UkSSR first deputy minister of Internal Affairs; and executives of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and the republic Council of Ministers participated in the work of the conference. (RATAU)

9069
CSO: 1800/186

REGIONAL

UKRAINE SUPREME COURT PLENUM HELD

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Oct 82 p 3

/Article: "Supreme Court Plenum" /

/Text/ The regularly scheduled plenum of the UkSSR Supreme Court took place under the chairmanship of A. N. Yakimenko.

The Plenum discussed further improvements to practical application by Republic courts of legislation concerning violations of regulations on labor protection and safety devices.

It was noted that republic judicial organs pay exceptional attention to examining criminal and civil cases involving violations of labor protection regulations and industrial accidents. Legal proceedings are being held directly in enterprises with the aim of preventing them, with factory organization representatives taking part. Great significance is placed on pronouncing individual decisions, which accentuate the attention of responsible officials on the state of labor and equipment discipline in production collectives, and which note inadequacies in organizing safe working conditions.

The plenum called the attention of the republic's courts to the need to strengthen responsibility for violations of labor safety regulations, norms and standards, and also to expose and eliminate reasons and conditions which are conducive to committing offenses.

The resolution which was adopted noted specific measures to further improve judicial activities in the struggle to create safe working conditions.

The plenum examined other matters concerning judicial activities.

UkSSR Public Prosecutor F. K. Gluk, UkSSR Minister of Justice V. I. Zaychuk, and executives of a number of republic ministries and departments took part in the work of the plenum. (RATAU)

9069
CSO: 1800/186

UKRAINE SCIENTIFIC TECHNICAL SOCIETIES HOLD CONGRESS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Oct 82 p 3

/Article: "To Develop the Scientific-Technical Creativity of the Masses"

/Excerpts/ On 21 October, the 5th UkSSR Congress of scientific-technical societies (STS) took place in Kiev. Results of work during the past five-year plan (FYP) and tasks for organizing the STS in the light of decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress were discussed.

The Presidium included A. A. Titarenko, Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP); V. A. Sologub, Politburo member, Central Committee, UCP, chairman of Ukrsovprof (The Ukrainian Trade Union Council) (UTUC); V. S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, UkSSR; N. N. Gritsenko, first deputy chairman of the All-Union Council of Scientific-Technical Societies; the leaders of a number of republic ministries and departments, scientists, industrial innovators and society activists.

The congress was declared open. The floor was given to A. A. Titarenko, Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee, UCP. During the years since the last STS Congress, he stated, events of world-historical importance have occurred in the life of the USSR. The 26th CPSU Congress was a central event. It put forward, as one of the most important main tasks for the 1980's, completion of the economy's transition to a primarily intensive path of development, based on accelerating scientific-technical progress. At the May, 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the USSR Food Program was adopted.

During the course of fulfilling the 10th FYP and the two years of the current, 11th FYP, the economies of the USSR, and of all the fraternal republics including the UkSSR, have risen to a new stage. The Soviet people have united still more closely around the CPSU, its Leninist Central Committee, and its Politburo, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Dwelling on the tasks of the STS, A. A. Titarenko emphasized that they are called upon to play an active role in the intensification of production and accomplishment of the Food Program. They are to raise significantly their level of participation in realizing republic, sector and regional complex

scientific-technical programs. Innovators in scientific research, design and technological organizations, and industrial enterprises, must make a greater contribution toward solving these tasks.

STS must pay greater attention to inculcating specialists, scientists and all STS members with a feeling of personal responsibility for the progress of Soviet science and technology, intolerance toward manifestations of technical conservatism and stagnation, and concern for raising the qualifications of specialists and developing their initiative and activeness.

Giving due regard for what had been accomplished, the congress delegates focused attention on unsolved problems and still unused reserves. The speaker, and those who addressed the congress, emphasized that the scientific-technical community at institutions and enterprises must direct its efforts toward increasing production efficiency, most importantly in the coal, metallurgical and other basic industrial sectors. The speakers stated that it is necessary to raise unceasingly the responsibility of specialists and heighten their activeness, professionalism and competence, without which the introduction of scientific-technical achievements is impossible.

No STS, it was stressed in the report and the presentations, may fail to involve itself in solving the tasks of the Food Program. It is necessary to insure that affairs are conducted in an economical and scientifically-based manner in all sectors of the agricultural-industrial complex. It is necessary to intensify agricultural science, speed up the selection of new plant types and hybrids and animal breeds using the accomplishments of genetic engineering, develop biotechnology for synthesizing animal feed protein and amino acids, and broadly introduce industrial technologies for increasing agricultural crops and maintaining cattle and poultry.

The presentations noted the importance of strengthening cooperation of STS with organizations of inventors and rationalizers, and the "Znaniye" society, improving the work of public design bureaus and laboratories, economic analysis groups, councils for the scientific organization of labor, consultation points and creative teams.

In his presentation, V. A. Sologub, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, UCP, chairman of UTUC, took notice of the need to increase the efforts of STS activists toward substantially reducing manual labor and accomplishing corresponding sector and regional programs. It is necessary to define specific tasks in this sphere, to include them in individual and collective creative plans, and to achieve timely and qualitative fulfillment of these plans without fail.

Another urgent matter is the need for more active participation of STS in restructuring the economic mechanism, perfecting and introducing the team form of labor organization, and ensuring a direct and visible link between work and pay according to its quality and quantity. Here the recently created scientific-economic society should especially show its worth.

He stated that great reserves are to be found in the broad infusion of advanced experience. The achievements of scientists and innovators must be effectively and widely spread. In this regard, the importance of harmonious, joint efforts of STS, trade unions, and Komsomol organizations was emphasized.

Proposals were made at the congress aimed at improving all aspects of STS activities, and a number of questions were posed which require decisions by republic ministries and departments.

The delegates unanimously adopted the resolution of the congress in accordance with the report of the Ukrainian STS Council, and affirmed the report of the Inspection Committee.

Elections were held for the UkrSSR STS Council and the Inspection Committee. At the organizational plenum, V. I. Trefilov was elected chairman of the STS Council; V. V. Lola, V. N. Novikov, and V. P. Trofimov were elected deputy chairmen, and O. Ye. Chubov was elected scientific secretary. V. I. Tentyuk was elected chairman of the Inspection Committee at its meeting. (RATAU)

9069
CSO: 1800/197

REGIONAL

JEWISH ANTI-EMIGRATION CAMPAIGN RENEWED

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 82 p 3

Article by V. Lenov: "Curse the Day...!"

Text There are in our very rich language words which we use extremely rarely because they express sacred notions. They are like banners which we unfurl on days of great celebration or during periods of severe trial.

The word "Motherland" we pronounce to ourselves or aloud, and in so doing we appeal to the country of Lenin, we align ourselves with her might and beauty.

The Motherland is not just the home where we were born, where we first hear our mother's song and took our first steps along the path which leads to life.

The Motherland is everything that we have not spoken in any language. It is our fathers and grandfathers, who lit the light of October, who defended it in cruel battles. Without the love of each of us the country can survive, but without it we can never survive.

In today's discussion, dear reader, we will use this word frequently. We will use it as often as we find it in the letters of people who understand life in different ways.

For one of them the Motherland always was and always will be sacred, and the other would like to see it as small change. Judge yourselves what has arisen from this.

Auschwitz, Maydanek, Dachau, Babi Yar, Treblinka. To this sad list of the death camps, where Hitlerite butchers murdered hundreds of thousands of people, including Jews, the Zionist bosses of Tel Aviv have added today the names of the Palestine refugee camps in West Beirut. Fascism and Zionism are two hands of unbridled imperialism, and they have always been at its service. They have the same appearance. The bloody traces of both fascism and Zionism are an indelible blot on the memory of mankind. The court of peoples has judged fascism. The trial of Zionism is

proceeding. In those places where they are getting away with their bloody crimes, the Zionists act brazenly and without camouflage of any kind.

As long as 20 years ago the American generals, who were translating people's fates into dollars, calculated: "One dollar invested in the ideological struggle is equivalent to 10 invested in defense." The Israeli specialists in dark and suspicious affairs are attempting to surpass their masters across the ocean. They lavish millions on the ideological processing of simple people who are not experienced in the means and methods of psychological warfare.

One of the forms which this ideological work takes is letters from various countries abroad, including "the Promised Land." After the artillery "preparation," which is carried out by the various radio services, the epistolary weapons are brought into action. These are letters from "relatives." Carefully prepared in every detail, they are aimed at ordinary people; someone may bite.

And if there are no relatives, then they invent some. And "delightful" letters, worked out in the bowels of the special services, are circulating in various cities of the country.

In June of this year a letter arrived in the municipality of Kopyl addressed to M.Ya. Dolgin.

A certain Iosif Libman sent M.Ya. Dolgin an invitation to take up permanent residence in Israel. And official permission to enter this country arrived through the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Taking into account the humane attitude of the Soviet authorities toward the issue of family reunification, I am hoping for a positive response to this request from my relatives and me," wrote Libman.

But the most interesting fact is that Dolgin has no relatives in Israel. He had never heard the name Libman and was seeing it for the first time on that very piece of paper.

This is what Motel' Yankelevich Dolgin wrote to the BSSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet:

"This 'invitation' is an act of provocation and naked deceit. Libman is no relative of mine, and I have never known him previously. I categorically reject his impudent appeal and I state: my Motherland is the USSR, and I am a citizen of it. I fought for the freedom and independence of my country in the Great Patriotic War; I was seriously wounded and lost my right hand. The state has provided me with all the necessary financial and living conditions essential for a normal and quiet life. I am paid a pension, and I have been given an apartment with all conveniences. I have been provided with moral and material benefits for my entire life and I feel well.

"Once more I state: my beloved Motherland is with me, and let the provocateurs from Israel stop bothering me with their base and fraudulent documents which they call an 'invitation.'"

But sometimes fraudulent documents such as the one received by M.Ya. Dolgin fall into the hands of narrow-minded people who are credulous and unstable. Blinded by imaginary benefits promised to them in these anonymous letters, some of them, because they wish to become business owners, other through political illiteracy, decide light-heartedly on a course of action which they will regret for a long time ahead. In 1980, a musician from Bobruysk, Grigoriy Yu. (his complete last name is not given for his sake, because the Jewish Defense League, which uses fascist methods, has long arms) received a "summons" and left for the USA. He was lucky: he found work. No, he did not become the owner of a concert hall or the manager of a large orchestra. He has no time to listen to music or to play himself. Grigoriy has had to change his profession: he is now the owner of a private taxi in Los Angeles. He drives a car himself; he himself tries to obtain "tips," and he carries suitcases for passengers. This is the business of a former musician.

Millions of "pure" Americans are wandering about the country in search of jobs; they besiege unemployment offices and stand in lines for a meager unemployment benefit, while the former Bobruysk musician drives recent colleagues of the current president around Hollywood. (This is now his only point of contact with art.)

But is Grisha happy? Here is what he himself says in his letters to his former friend, with whose permission we quote, while preserving the author's style.

First Letter

It is already two years that we have been in America, and I still do not believe that this is my new Motherland, where I must live and greet old age. I feel unsettled. I miss my friends, my work and the Soviet country.

At present we are getting the money together for a taxi. It costs about \$5,000. As long as I rent one, I pay the owner \$50. Twenty dollars a day goes for gas. The rest is mine. I live in Los Angeles. From the outside the city appears dead. There are no people on the streets. They are all in cars. The American people are ugly; they dress terribly. There are young girls of all nationalities selling themselves on our street all day.

Although I was not a great musician, I will never be able to reconcile myself to the fact of having to change professions. I look at the bayan as a monument to the past. You, Fima, are simply a very lucky fellow to live in the USSR, in the beautiful city of Minsk and to play in an orchestra. I have talked with people who have left the USSR. The overwhelming majority of them very much regret it. But they do not all talk about this out loud; they share it with friends and almost no one writes about it to the USSR. All of us (in our family) recall the USSR with longing and sadness. Izya Golub hasn't taken his trumpet out of its case for three months--he has no time, and Leva Temkin once said for the immigrants: "Curse the day we decided to emigrate."

Second Letter

"I want to write to you more honestly than the others do. We have lost. And don't believe anyone who writes you differently. Pass it on in Bobruysk that if any others do not want to regret a profound and stupid mistake all their lives, they should put out of their heads any such idea and continue their lives rather than starting them over again.

"You are fortunate, do not doubt that for a minute. Life in the USSR is much more interesting and better. That is what everyone of our people with whom I have talked says.

"I would like simply to ensure that others do not repeat the mistakes which we made."

Third Letter

"...I assure you, Fima that 99 percent of the letters which emigrants send to the USSR contain incorrect, false information in order to avoid compromising themselves in the eyes of those who have not come here. I know many people here who moan and whine for days on end when they recall the USSR. We are willing to throw it all up and leave at any minute. But the letters they write are splendid and full of glowing phrases. They themselves recognize that there is no other way to act.

"And imagine, Fimochka, how many people ruin their lives and fates due to such lying letters and photographs. There is no interest in life here. I do not know how to explain to you more clearly the significance of these words, but for some reason everyone here uses this formula "there is no interest in life."

"At our age English does not come easily, but if you do not have "good language" you get work at the minimum wage.

"I do not want to gossip, but I could name former Bobruysk residents who rage and curse the day they left the Soviet Union.

"People often say they should leave because of the children, but I say they should stay in the USSR for precisely the sake of the children. There is no better country for them. In America young people live with depravity all around them, and it is unthinkable difficult to protect your children when there are brothels and special massage parlors at every step and when all the stores, even food stores, sell pornographic magazines.

"Lessons in sex are given in the schools beginning in fifth grade. In the evenings prostitutes will not let you pass on the streets. America is America. And everything that we heard at home in our country on the radio and television about America--all this is true and we did not believe it, much to our sorrow.

"America is good only for tourists. Everyone who is there (in the USSR--V.L.) should be there and only there.

"Be glad for your children. Only in the USSR does a real future await them. I hope that fewer people go out of their minds and ruin their lives."

These are letters from a person whose eyes have been opened. Bitterness and shame can be read between the lines. It is a tragedy into which a person has fallen due to his own cupidity. Once again we emphasize that Grigoriy Yu. was lucky in getting work. And those who stand in line at the unemployment office among the 11 million "extra" Americans" to receive their unemployment subsidy do not send letters. Day and night they curse the hour when they fell for the cheap propaganda trick of the Zionists.

A person has only one Motherland. It is not something to be traded. And those who attempt to change it, like a bank note, come to regret bitterly what they have done.

8543
CSO: 1800/391

MARITIME TERRITORY'S AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX ASSESSED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 5 Nov 82 pp 1-3

[Article by V. P. Lomakin, first secretary of the Maritime Territorial CPSU Committee]

[Text] The Communist Party and the Soviet Government pay much attention to developing productive forces in the Far East. The Maritime Territory is among those regions where construction, industry and transport grow especially fast, giving a boost to other economic sectors, above all agriculture.

Rice-growing has become the most distinguishing feature in the farming of the Maritime Territory. In the past 15 years, the area planted in rice increased by 5.6 times, rice yield nearly doubled, and the yearly amount of rice sold to the state grew more than ten-fold. This year, 46,400 hectares of reclaimed lands have been given to rice, which should enable farms to reach the planned paddy production total of 86,000 tons. The harvest, after going through local processing factories, will be enough to meet consumer demand in both the Far East and most of Eastern Siberia. But the region's long-term rice-growing prospects are even more impressive. The area under rice can be increased to reach 200,000 hectares and rice sales to the state to 400,000-450,000 tons, making the Maritime Territory a major rice producer.

Soya, an oil-bearing high-protein crop, takes up more than 20 per cent of the total land sown by the collective and state farms of the territory. The Maritime Territory is the country's second largest soya producer. It also specialises in apiculture and sells the state at least 5,000-6,000 tons of honey every year, which makes it the biggest bee-keeper in the Far East. Fur farming, annually supplying home and foreign markets with up to 1,300,000 original-colouring milk pelts, has turned into a major currency source.

Efforts to develop these farming branches will, no doubt, continue. But they will not overshadow the main task set before the village here in the decisions of the May (1982) Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee and in the CPSU Central Committee's and the USSR Council of Ministers' resolution "On the All-Round Development of Agriculture in the Areas of Siberia and the Far East and in the Kurgan Region." This uppermost task is to reliably supply the population with locally produced food such as vegetables, potatoes, meat, milk and eggs.

The territory's peculiar soil and climatic conditions have prompted a large-scale land improvement effort through irrigation and drainage. Suffice it to say that since the CPSU Central Committee's Plenum in May, 1966, the cooperative and government-owned farms here have received 80,000 hectares of irrigated and some 150,000 hectares of drained lands and sizably extended the area of land under cultivation. Specialisation and concentration have given rise to new forms in the organisation of farming, expedited technical progress and the application of scientific recommendations and best experience, and made the establishment of large-scale agricultural complexes both possible and necessary.

Since the March (1965) Plenum of the CPSU CC, the territory's farms have increased their sale of vegetables by 48 per cent, potatoes by 100 per cent, milk by 68 per cent, meat by 110 per cent, and eggs by 830 per cent. The growth rates are high and yet insufficient, for the population's demand for vegetables, potatoes, eggs and especially milk and meat still outstrips supply.

Appreciable advances will be made in livestock farming. When the operating stock-raising complexes reach design output, the building of the Lesozavodsky and Strugovsky hog-rearing complexes and the Glukhovsky calves fattening complex is completed, the Ussuriyskaya egg plant and the Mikhailovskaya broiler plant are expanded and the Zerkalnaya egg plant and the Lesnaya broiler plant built, meat output will climb by approximately 60 to 65 per cent and the demand for eggs in the territory will be met practically fully. Milk production will also grow fast.

The territory's remoteness and huge size have, apparently, made for a sufficiently independent, full-value agro-industrial complex to have formed here over the years. The territory has a ramified network of vegetable-processing stations, canning factories, milk plants, creameries, meat-packing plants, flour mills and soya-processing enterprises, a butter-and-fats mill, and a specialised fruit and vegetable trading chain in Vladivostok. Naturally, many of these facilities want reconstruction, and the capacities of most of them have to be built up. The necessity of building more mixed-feed factories and a large industrial complex to process the products of agriculture and of supplying bee-keeping gardens with more hives, honeycomb foundations and implements has long been felt. Similar complexes are also needed for specialised fur-breeding and orchard-growing farms. These problems can be and, of course, will be solved, some of them already in the current five-year plan period.

But, as we see it, the main thing, along with strengthening the material and technological foundation of individual farming branches, is to ensure their organisational and economic unity and concerted operation in order to increase the output of all types of farm produce and stop all losses on the way from farm to kitchen. The executive staff of the agro-industrial complex will have the administrative and economic levers to ensure the management and coordinated functioning of the entire complex.

(EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 43,
October 1982. Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/65

LITHUANIA'S SECOND SECRETARY ON WORK WITH LETTERS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 17, Sep 82 pp 42-47

Article by N. Dybenko, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee: "Letters from the Working People--A Vital Communication Channel Between the Party and the Masses"7

Text7 Every day the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPL), the local party committees, the state and other organs receive many letters, which reflect the eventful, multi-faceted life of the nation and the republic. In their appeals the working people raise important issues of socio-political life, they make suggestions on how to resolve the most varied problems, and they openly criticize inadequacies. Recently the main subject raised in the mail of party committees and administrative institutions has been related to issues which derive from the resolutions of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which approved the USSR Food Program.

The letters and suggestions by the working people constitute, in the graphic expression of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, a vital communication channel between the party and the masses. These letters are truly an inexhaustible source of reliable information concerning the spiritual and material needs of urban and rural workers, and concerning the state of affairs in various areas of the socio-economic, political and spiritual life of our society, and they are one of the means for the realization of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens. And it is for precisely this reason that a sensitive, attentive attitude toward letters and statements as "truly human documents" is one of the primary Leninist principles of party and state activities.

Since the 26th CPSU Congress not only qualitative growth in the information coming from workers has been observed, but also a qualitative change in its nature. There is an increasing flow of letters by authors who are expressing their attitudes towards the most important party and government decisions, who are making suggestions and comments aimed at improving political and organizational work and at eliminating inadequacies in economic activities. This is a clear manifestation of the active life position and people's civic interest in the affairs of the party and the state.

Guided by the CPSU Central Committee decree "Concerning Measures to Further Improve Work with Letters and Suggestions from Working People in the Light of the 26th CPSU Congress Decisions," the republic's party organization has done a great deal to substantially improve the consideration given to written and oral appeals by citizens. This question has been comprehensively and thoroughly examined at plenums of the CPL Central Committee, at plenums of municipal and rayon party committees, in soviet, trade union and economic organs. Suffice it to say that in the last year and a half alone, the departments of the CPL Central Committee have used an analysis of written and oral appeals by citizens as the basis of 29 questions, related to the resolution of current socio-service needs of the working people, which have been introduced for discussion by the collective organs.

There is now more order, clarity and energy in this work. It can be noted with satisfaction that in a majority of party committees and primary party organizations the consideration of letters and the reception of citizens serve as an effective means to study the interests and needs of the Soviet people, and they provide a wealth of material for the formulation and resolution of current problems of economic and cultural construction.

The Panevezhis Rayon party organization has accumulated positive experience; here a well-defined system for the study and comprehensive analysis of suggestions and critical comments coming from the population has been developed and is in operation. The suggestions and comments concern improvements in the production and labor of farm workers, facilities for rural villages and for production and social centers, as well as for improvements in the daily life of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. In a special decree the CPL Central Committee has summarized the experience of the Panevezhis organization and recommended that it be disseminated in all rural rayons of the republic.

Recently a major discussion took place at a plenum of the Shyalyayskiy Rayon Party committee concerning the state and measures to further improve the level of consumer services for rural workers. It was preceded by an in-depth analysis of letters and questionnaires by the rural population. Serious inadequacies and omissions in the work of consumer service establishments in kolkhozes and sovkhozes were uncovered. A sharp reduction in the number of complaints coming from rural workers concerning consumer services is evidence that the plenum's recommendations have found reflection in practice.

The role and contemporary significance of the labor collective in all of our socio-political life and in the indoctrination of the worker are widely known. This obliges us to strive for the goal of having the administration and party organization of every collective genuinely aware of the mood of the people, aware of what is concerning any given person and of which kind of assistance he needs. And not only should these bodies be aware, they should also do everything possible for the practical resolution of emerging problems.

The regular reports, which are commonly made in our republic by officials to their collectives concerning work with letters and oral petitions from working people are in line with this goal.

In the last two and a half years enterprises, organizations and farms have held 2,290 workers' meetings, at which 4,580 managers or officials have presented reports.

For example, the report by Yu. Skarbalyus, director of the Daugels Building Materials Production Association, was interesting. It should be said that the enterprises of this association are located in the small town of Kurshenay in Shalyayskiy Rayon, and quite a few problems arise in the workers' collectives. At the latest workers' meeting for representatives of all production subdivisions of the association, the manager provided detailed information on the resolution of issues raised by blue- and white-collar workers which were related to production or socio-consumer concerns. The report satisfied the people. Later in the meeting a number of new issues were raised, issues concerning the operation of the local store and medical facility, concerning the need to build a circular road around the city of Kurshenay, and others. Many of the workers' requests and desires were positively resolved on the spot, and some of them are now being considered by the appropriate soviet and higher economic organs. It is hardly necessary to say that consistent work with the people, and the publicity given to work with written and oral appeals by the working people has reflected favorably on production matters. The association's collective is fulfilling in a stable manner the state plans and socialist obligations.

Similar reports by managers to labor collectives are taking place in a planned manner at the Vilnius Plastic Products Plant, the "Sparta" Stocking and Knit Wear Factory in Vilnius, the Panevezhis Model Construction Trust, at the Kaunas Furniture Combine, the Shyaulyayskiy Television Plant imeni 40-letiye Sovetskoy Litvy and at many other enterprises, where the party committees consider that within their organizational activities, work with letters, suggestions and requests from blue- and white-collar workers is of paramount importance.

Something which has become popular and vitally necessary for the working people is the practice of holding consolidated political days, during which officials from the CPL Central Committee, as well as managers of republic, municipal and rayon organizations, hold regular meetings with labor collectives and receive the working people on site. The suggestions and comments expressed at these meetings are systematically summarized, and a system for effective monitoring of their implementation is established. As part of the further development of this form of contact with the people, the Klaypeda party gorkom has been successful in the last several years in its practice of holding "Days of the Enterprises," during which gorkom secretaries, the gorispolkom chairman and his deputies, leading officials of other organization in the port city have an opportunity to influence personally the state of affairs in the collectives, as well as to reveal and eliminate the reasons for complaints and conflicts, and to resolve on the spot, during personal meetings, many problems which are emerging.

In our work with the letters and oral petitions from working people the center of gravity lies within the labor collectives. An effective stimulus for this was found in the decision of one of the plenums of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, which discussed further improvement in the

ideological-political, labor and moral education of the working people. Recently work carried out according to place of residence has also increased in the republic. This is because a majority of the complaints and statements concern the operations of housing and public utilities, as well as other services in cities and villages, including transportation, etc. For this reason the initiative by the Novovilnyaskiy Party Raykom in the city of Vilnius deserves all possible approval; the raykom organizes regular meetings between officials of rayon organizations and residents, and the meetings are held in the actual apartment blocks and neighborhoods. On the basis of the calendar plan for 1981-1983, the House of Culture and clubs will be the site of meetings with various categories of the population--with trade union and Komsomol activists, with the women's councils, with doctors, trade and public catering employees, with pensioners, and with parent groups. As a rule, the meetings end with personal receptions of citizens.

"Open Letter Days," which are held in cities, rural rayons, and at individual enterprises and farms, and which are organized on a regular basis by party committees in conjunction with the editorial boards of newspapers, magazines, television and radio, also contribute to the further improvement of the work with letters and the organization of citizen visits. One such program was held on the problems of further improvements in medical service for the public; it took place in Alitus, the regional center of a rapidly growing industry. The letters received from the working people of the city contained more than 400 critical comments, wishes and suggestions. The letters helped the health care organs, and the local party and soviet organizations, to study more deeply the state of health care for the public, to see and eliminate inadequacies in this sphere of public service, and to set out paths for the further development and improvement of curative and prophylactic work not only in Alitus, but throughout the entire republic. A detailed report on this, as well as a number of materials were published in the republic and local press under the heading "In the Wake of Open Letter Day."

Similar Open Letter Days have been held this year alone in the cities of Vilnius, Panevezhis, Druskininkay, and in the Shalchininskiy, Pakruoyskiy, Kedaynskiy, Trakayskiy and a number of other rayons.

Working peoples have also responded well to television forums, which have been held regularly in the republic; officials of particular ministries and agencies are present in the television studio to answer questions from the public, to inform people about work that has been completed and work that is planned with regard to the realization of suggestions which have been made. As a form of cooperation between the party committees and the mass information organs, these measures, which have become a firmly-entrenched aspect of the work with the population, are, in our opinion, very effective. On the basis of "prompting" from the working people, many specific inadequacies in the activities of any given administrative organs are eliminated. Suggestions from the working people help to improve the plans for the economic and social development of cities and villages, and to aim them more precisely at the fuller satisfaction of the population's requirements. By their participation in these programs, it is as if the officials themselves are "being received" by the workers, and they derive for themselves much that is valuable and instructive from the frank and sometimes impartial conversation.

Of course, the practice of party-organizational work among the population, especially work according to the place of residence, requires a well-known differentiation. Forms of communication with working people which have developed and proved themselves useful in the cities are not always applicable in a rural locality by virtue of characteristics of production, life and domestic arrangements of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. Recently the practice of holding rural assemblies has been revived in the villages and settlements of the republic: it was these assemblies which left behind a positive influence in the period when the kolkhoz system was being formed and consolidated in Lithuania.

A recent assembly in the village of Ozhkinyay, the most remote village from the rayon center of Shvenchenis, comes to mind. The chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Chernyakhovskiy Cheslovas Stelmokas opened the assembly and was the first speaker. He talked about what is being done to ease the labor at animal-raising farms, about the prospects for the development of the farm in connection with the realization of the Food Program, and he shared the board's plans for resolution of social and daily living problems in the modern countryside. Then came questions and notes addressed to the presidium. The answers to them were provided by the chairman of the kolkhoz, Ch. Stelmokas and the first secretary of the Shvenchenskiy Rayon party committee, V. Purvanetskayte.

The unconstrained conversation lasted until late. It was interesting to listen to the opinions and comments of the local residents on many aspects of rural life, to hear the story of old-timer V. Kinduris about the eye-catching changes taking place in the territory of the Kaltanenskiy Soviet; to hear a presentation by a kolkhoz member and mother of five children, Brone Baronene, who noted with gratitude the concern of the party and the state for the coming generation and at the same time she listed with concern instances of a wasteful attitude toward the environment; to hear the discussion of kolkhoz member Al'fonsas Veykutis, who asked the rayon officials to ensure that the village store was better supplied with consumer goods; and to hear many other farmers, who raised many issues related to everyday life, as well as problems of agricultural production.

It is encouraging that the rural assemblies include as top priority subjects discussions on ways to develop public farming, the contribution of one's own kolkhoz or sovkhoz to the fulfilment of the Food Program, the problems of constructing roads, housing, cultural facilities, children's preschools institutions, cafeterias and stores in rural areas. Statements against wasteful management, embezzlement, drunkenness, speculation and other antipodes of socialist morality were made. It seems the people's inclinations and their attitude toward the problems raised at the rural assemblies render invaluable assistance to the party rayon committees and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies in strengthenning legal propaganda, in carrying out the indoctrination of rural workers, and in resolving current issues of economic and cultural construction.

In the work of the party committees, and of the Soviet and state organs we attribute great significance to the practice of receiving the working people. The scale of work with oral petitions and requests can be judged

by the following figure: in the last two and a half years in the republic the officials of party and soviet organs alone have received more than 100,000 people in labor collectives and on the basis of place of residence. One can imagine just how many large and small problems requiring an effective solution were posed by the working people.

Of course, certain positive changes have been achieved in the work with letters and petitions and in the organization of personal visits with officials in the republic. But we do not yet have any grounds for satisfaction because there are still quite a few inadequacies and omissions in this important sector of party and state activity; there is still much to be achieved.

At one of the plenums of the CPL Central Committee the republic's Ministry of Health was subjected to sharp criticism for its weak reaction to petitions and complaints about inadequacies in the operations of treatment and prophylactic institutions, and abuses by individual doctors. At the present time the new leadership in the ministry is taking decisive measures to restore order in medical institutions; statements and signals coming from the public are carefully checked, and measures are adopted on their basis. Last year 90 medical employees were punished for abuse of their postions. Nonetheless, substantiated, critical comments concerning the medical services are still coming into the Central Committee.

More than one-third of the mail which comes to the CPL Communist Committee and to the party gorkoms and raykoms, as well as to state organs, consists of complaints on housing matters. What does an analysis of these letters show?

From year to year the country, including our republic, expands the scale of residential construction; the growing needs of the Soviet people for accommodation are being satisfied to an ever greater degree. This is natural in a socialist state. In the first year and a half of the 11th Five-Year Plan 2,245,000 square meters of housing were opened up in Lithuania alone. This means that many tens of thousands of families received new flats with modern conveniences or improved their housing conditions. However, it is still early to talk about the full satisfaction of the need; many families are on the waiting list for years before they receive an apartment. "And inasmuch as this problem is still not so simple," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in the Report of the 26th CPSU Congress, "it means that particular attentiveness, objectivity and honesty are necessary in the distribution of living space."

There is another category of letters which cannot fail to arouse our concern and these are complaints on labor issues; illegal firings, shifts to different work made without the consent of the employee, wage reductions, etc. Since the beginning of this year the CPL Central Committee has received 164 such letters, and one-third of them concern incorrect dismissal. Quite a few complaints of this nature have also come to us previously. In the last two and a half years the republic's people's courts have examined about 700 cases concerning reinstatement at a previous job, and 36 percent of the suits were won with payment for the forced absence. Further, the officials who illegally dismissed employees were held responsible for only five percent of the amounts

paid to people for enforced absences, and this causes great harm to the state. At the present time we are formulating this question in such a way that every case of illegal dismissal will become the subject of a special discussion in the party committees and trade union organs, while the guilty parties will carry unconditional responsibility, and the entire system of measures related to the resolution of this problem will operate unfailingly and effectively.

Our party and government show great concern for further improvements in the living, working and financial conditions, as well as the medical service, available to participants in the Great Patriotic War and to the families of fallen warriors. Questions concerning war veterans are discussed regularly by the CPL Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic, by the ministries and agencies, and supplementary measures to improve their housing, financial and daily living conditions are being implemented. For example, in Kaunas and in the resort city of Druskininkay treatment-rehabilitation wings have been built—as part of the municipal hospitals—for war participants, and a system has been established to follow their health on the basis of place of residence and to provide top-priority service in medical institutions. In the course of last year and the current year 171 Zaporozhets' cars were issued free to Patriotic War veterans, and 16 Moskvich cars were sold at a substantial discount.

In a majority of their letters the former front line soldiers express warm appreciation for the benefits and privileges granted to them, and they express a willingness to continue to participate actively in public production and in the heroic-patriotic indoctrination of young people. It is all the more painful to read letters from veterans who write that here their request was not complied with, that they were denied a voucher entitling them to a period in a sanatorium, or that other benefits were denied to them. Employees in the apparatus of the CPL Central Committee pay particular attention to letters of this kind, and they take effective measures to eradicate formalism and red tape in satisfying the basic requests and desires of war participants and the families of fallen warriors. And we are working to achieve this from all the party committees and state organs.

We are heartened by the fact that in their letters the working people more and more frequently and with increasing thoroughness raise issues of party-wide and national significance; they put forward suggestions to improve the organizational and political-indoctrination work and to improve the economic mechanism. But along with this, people also ask frequently and with justification the difficult question of why some officials carry out economic work badly from year to year, why they behave incorrectly in labor collectives and in daily life, why they abuse their official position.

The CPL Central Committee and the local party committees check with particular care letters of this kind, and they adopt the most decisive measures to eradicate the abuse and infractions which have come to light: with a sense of high party principles they expose the guilty ones, giving widespread publicity in the process. In the past year and the current year a number of such sorry excuses for officials have been removed from their posts and been

subjected to strict party reprimands. I shall name some of them. As was reported in letters which reached the party organs, the chairman of the republic's trade union committee for medical workers, Comrade Veselyumas abused his official position in the construction of a small garden house. A check revealed that the facts were true. The Buro of the CPL Central Committee issued a strict reprimand to be noted in his party card; he was released from the duties of chairman of the republic's trade union committee.

When the workers of the Syulas Linen Factory in the city of Birzhay complained about the director of the enterprise, Comrade Chernis, the CPL Central Committee proceeded with great care to check it. In the complaint it was noted that the director violated the established procedure for the delivery of goods, that he persecuted the authors of letters which reported his improper affairs to the republic organs. A check revealed that the facts were true. He was released from the position of director; he received a strict reprimand which was noted on his party card.

The letters sector of the General Department of the CPL Central Committee is presently carrying out a multi-faceted analytical work with the mail. It should be noted that as a result of measures which are being taken with regard to the written and oral appeals of the working people at the local level, we have had a noticeable reduction in the proportion of complaints. In 1980 they amounted to 55 percent of the total correspondence, while last year and this year they have not exceeded 40 percent. The number of repeat letters, as well as the number of letters forwarded to the republic for consideration from the CPSU Central Committee and the Committee for Party Control of the CPSU Central Committee fell to one-half of the previous level.

When talking about repeat letters, it should be noted that not all of the demands and requests contained in them can be fulfilled, and not every complaint is justified. It is essential that at the first level to which a person appeals he should receive a prompt, direct and open explanation of the lack of substantiation for his letter or statement. If a person understands this, it is not likely that he will appeal "even higher." It is disappointing to know that it frequently happens in the following way. The conflict becomes prolonged in nature, it gives rise to many complaints to various organizations and, finally, the legal rights of the person lodging the complaint are established once again, and justice, as they say, prevails. Moreover, it frequently happens that the official who became involved with the first letter and permitted the red tape, keeps silent. The Vilnius and Klaypeda party gorkoms, and other party committees are correct when they question carefully negligent employees who are guilty of eating away over a long period of time at the legal rights and interests of the petitioners. A check of the complaints sent to the CPL Central Committee established that the director of the Klaypeda "Baltiya" Ship Building Plant, Comrade Podlyasskiy, systematically violated the labor legislation, firing people without proper cause from jobs on the pretext of staff reductions. The Buro of the CPL Central Committee issued a strict reprimand with a notation to be made on his party card, and the plenum of the Klaypeda party gorkom expelled him from the buro of the gorkom.

The CPSU Central Committee requires the party committees and state organs, as well as every party worker and every manager, to consider a sensitive, attentive attitude toward the letters, requests and complaints of citizens as their duty before the people and before the party. In our practical work we are striving to arrange matters so that every Soviet person can without hindrance and with the least possible damage to his immediate work and with a minimal expenditure of personal time realize the constitutional right granted to him, the right to make suggestions to the state organs and public organizations concerning improvements in their activities, and to criticize inadequacies in their work, and so that everywhere and in all cases questions raised by the working people will be carefully considered and resolved in accordance with the law.

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PARTY LEADERSHIP FOUNDED ON HARD-CORE ACTIVISM

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Nov 82 pp 2-3

/Article by Yu. Livsthits, professor, chairman of the department of scientific communism, University of Marxism-Leninism, Estonian CP Central Committee: "Political Culture of the Personality"/

/Text/ Much is now being written and said about political culture. It attracts increasing attention from theoreticians and political activists. It is of unflagging interest to philosophers, sociologists and law experts. It is the object of contest between opposed ideologies to one of which political culture is an indispensable condition for humanizing social relations and strengthening the unity between the individual and society, and to the other, a tool for manipulating consciousness and behavior in the interests of preserving private ownership. Although political culture is not a new concept, the increased attention being paid to it these days is not a passing fad but something stemming from the complex whole of the changed conditions of life. A major role here is played by the exacerbation of epochal contradictions, the intensified danger of a world catastrophe, the growth of scientific and technical progress, and the fact that people today are better-informed and better-educated. All this taken together results in greater awareness of political situations, the desire to know more and understand better the manner in which the destinies of millions are being decided in the course of the adoption and implementation of political decisions, and, perhaps most importantly, the unprecedented scale on which people strive to be politically active. In this connection, of course, the fundamental difference in the state of political culture between the two opposed systems of society should be borne in mind. Some aspect of the reality of the capitalist world is revealed by those Western ideologists who observe that interest in the problems of political culture in the West is largely associated not with the development of that culture but with its shortage, with the absence of solidarity among citizens, their unwillingness to make certain sacrifices for the common good, the tendency to reject civilization, the manifestations of cynicism, vandalism, political passivity and terrorism, and the spread of other symptoms of a crisis of political culture. Hence, if it is possible at all to speak of the development of political culture in that part of the world without taking into account a self-perpetuating narrow stratum of the political elite, this would primarily concern the activities of the progressive forces of society and primarily communists, who exert considerable effort to bring about the political education of the masses and organize class and general-democratic struggle, as

also concerns the opposite tendency toward "political stultification" inspired by all the mass media at the disposal of the ruling class.

Real socialism provides the objective premises for transforming political culture into a large-scale mass phenomenon associated with the democratic nature of the ownership of means of production, the need to include working people in the process of governing all the aspects of public life and the rise in the general culture of the population. V. I. Lenin said: "It is precisely this direction of providing working people and exploited people with actual and genuine possibilities for enjoying the blessings of culture, civilization and democracy that represents the most important practical activity of Soviet rule--an activity that should be steadfastly continued." These and other conditions ensuing from the development of the production techniques and the entire system of social relations are being complemented by that tremendous work on the political education and upbringing of every working person which is being organized and conducted by the Communist party, the socialist state and public organizations. The political culture of socialism has not only become an important social factor but also, and no less importantly, acquired the quality of a personal attribute as one of the striking features of the spiritual image of the Soviet man. L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "The Soviet man is a conscientious worker, a person with a high political culture, a patriot and an internationalist. He has been brought up by the party, by the country's heroic history, by our entire system of society. He lives the full and committed life of the creator of a new world."

Political culture lies in the epicenter of the human mind, affecting directly or indirectly all other manifestations of the individual's culture. It is, so to speak, the dominant sphere of the individual's culture, which colors the economic, physiological and cultural spheres. Suffice it to mention conflict situations [in the past] in which an individual's strict professionalism culminated in unprincipled utilitarianism or an equally conscientious "serving any god," when knowledge of the etiquette and the ability to apply it became, as it were, a lovely screen camouflaging a bourgeois attitude and spiritual poverty, and when artistry of form combined with a stunted civic spirit and lack of ideas, in order to understand that without a developed political culture the individual becomes handicapped in the social meaning of the word.

Since politics concerns relations among classes with respect to government, the individual's assimilation of the values in the political life of society, his grasp of and appreciation of these values, which influence the meaning and orientation of his actions, color his entire life with a special awareness that his personal destiny is part of the destinies of the socialist state, the working classes and historic progress as a whole. V. I. Lenin declared at an all-Russian conference of political educators in November 1920 that the purpose of "political culture, political education is to bring up true communists capable of overcoming lies and prejudices and helping the working masses to defeat the old order." Regardless of where a person works and what he does, political culture makes him a civic-minded individual who feels for the common cause and is properly, communistically disposed toward the accomplishments and problems of social development. Whether the subject is the achievements of our country's cosmonautics, the causes that prompted the Food Program, the spread of the brigade system of work, the

schedule of amateur art activities, the program of Sandinista patriots in Nicaragua or the sufferings of the Palestinian people, the politically cultured man is conversant with them all. This idea was fittingly expressed by V. A. Sukhomlinsky, who had contributed much not only to the development of Soviet educational theory but also as a practical educator who had strived to shape his pupils into genuinely cultured individuals. In his book "Rozhdeniye grazhdanina" [The Birth of a Citizen] he wrote: "With what joy I saw that, inspired by the grandiose idea of the Homeland, my pupils took close to heart all that was taking place under their gaze, noticed what they had not noticed before: their patriotic vision of the world, without mawkishness and with civic anxiety and concern."

The life of the politically cultured individual becomes so spiritually rich that it can hardly be measured in terms of the march of real time, since psychological time, i.e. the individual's awareness of time, associated with a broad spectrum of experiences lived through, produces the impression of living a full life. But what matters most is not these sensations but the real actions, activities and deeds of the individual manifesting his political awareness and civic-minded activity—that which warrants considering oneself needed and useful to very many people, to the collective, to society as a whole. In other words, in the plane of the individual, political culture is an important condition for opposing what, some 100 years ago, M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin had sarcastically defined as: "There is a lot of ways of making human existence base, but the truest of them is that of prompting a man to devote himself to the cult of self-preservation." It is not the cult of self-preservation but a life full of great and socially significant interests that offers the capital at the disposal of the politically cultured individual.

On the other hand, it is important to realize that the political culture of the individual is of invaluable social significance. A society rich in politically cultured people disposes of an inexhaustible wellspring for its development and improvement, since it is primarily in this plane that the interests of the community and the individual coincide most fully. This is confirmed by a multitude of proofs. Political culture, which reveals itself in practice through civic-political activity, makes fruitful other forms of human activity and makes people interested in socially significant processes and the results of the functioning of the social organism.

In a developing democracy, political culture optimizes the process of the acceptance of the decisions of the government through their prior public discussion, while at the same time being the prerequisite for a conscious, creative and civic-spirited adherence to rules and regulations. The greater the potential of politically cultured individuals available to a society, the greater the opportunities for the advancement of talented individuals to leading positions are, regardless of the occupation or profession to which they may have originally devoted their life. It is not accidental that so many leaders have emerged from among, chiefly, public activists who had already demonstrated their activist proclivities during their school or university years and subsequently obtained an education in the humanities or engineering sciences while at the same time assimilating the values of political culture. As shown by the authors of a major inter-regional study of this problem, the fact that managers and highly skilled

workers themselves link their social and professional and occupational advancement to their participation in public activities demonstrates that such participation, as an indicator of political culture, is a great social value. This is so not only when the individual views positively public-spirited activities and their nature, and not only when the results of these activities prove to be of value by being useful and needed to society, but also when these activities are of indirect value in the sense that they provide the experience, knowledge, habits and other personal qualities needed to achieve a person's life goals and strivings, that is, as an expression of his or her political culture.

The recognition of the great social significance of the individual's political culture also means the need to further broaden the scale and elevate the level of political-educational work. Far from all the phenomena of social life discerned by the consciousness of the individual and viewed through the prism of his or her life experience promote of themselves the formation of the needed political culture. Even from the instances criticized by our periodical press, radio, television and cinema it can be seen that the process whereby the individual forms his convictions is associated not only with assimilating the sum total of the positive knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory but also with reacting to phenomena which engender political apathy or, even worse, political confusion and lack of culture. Now that the new school year has begun in the system of political education, this should be again mentioned, because, as the party itself demands, the process itself of studying the theory should be maximally linked to life, freed of formalism, bear a militant and aggressive nature and develop habits of well-argumented defense of our ideas in disputes with all those who oppose them out of ignorance or a limited ideological outlook. This process should find its practical embodiment in a socially and politically active form, which is important both to the individual himself and to society.

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REGIONAL

NEW NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING COMPLEX UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 2 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by I. Shagulyamov, director of the publishing house of the Central Committee of the CP of Uzbekistan: "Newspapers Will Be Better"]

[Text] When the reader thumbs through the newspaper in the morning he notices most of all its layout. He is attracted most of all by material which is clearly printed and, as journalists say, served up sharply.

This is being made possible by highly productive equipment and advanced technology. A great deal has been done to introduce them thanks to the constant help of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. And today an enormous new job is being done--in Tashkent on "Pravda Vostoka" and Leningradskaya Streets the construction of a newspaper publishing house complex is being completed. It was designed at different times by two designing organizations--the Moscow "Giproniipoligraf" Institute and the Central Scientific Research and Designing Institute of Standard and Experimental Designing for Entertainment Buildings and Sports Installations imeni B. S. Mezentsev. But the impression is that it was a unified creative collective which created the beautiful House of the Press ensemble.

The new complex will have working in it more than 1,500 journalists, printers, and communications workers. They will have to ensure the high ideological thrust of the newspapers and the high quality of their aesthetic layout and printing work, and the punctual publishing and expediting of 36 newspapers with a combined edition of 6 million copies.

The production standards and high mechanization level in the new complex is witnessed by the following fact: 60,000 newspaper copies can be printed in an hour on a "Rondoset" unit from the "Plamag" Firm (GDR), while the present unit prints around 40,000 copies. In addition, the quality cannot be compared: offset printing provides tremendous advantages.

For five years the construction workers and printers did strenuous work. Beautiful editorial and production buildings, a conference hall, a dining room, the air-conditioning machine room, an electric substation, and a cascade of fountains have been built. The construction is approaching completion. Many organizations have been participating in it: the general contractor--the No. 11

"Vysotstroy" Construction Trust,--and the subcontractors "Otdelstroy-2," "Tashtransspetsstroy," "Energomontazh," "Promstroykomplekt," "Uzelektromontazh," "Tashgorsantekhgazmontazh," "Stroymekhinzatsaya," and other subdivisions of Glavtashkentstroy and the republic's Ministry of Installation and Special Construction. The work of many of the collectives is marked by close collaboration. They are very determined to complete the construction, installation, and start-up and adjustment work in the near future so as to be able to run a trial offset printing by the 65th anniversary of Great October. Representatives of the "Plamag" Firm will basically complete the installation of the unique newspaper unit in five months. They are receiving a lot of help here from specialists from the Moscow "Poligrafmontazh" Administration and from our publishing enterprise.

But it was just at this responsible moment of the completion of the construction that the work of "Otdelstroy-2," "Tashtransspetsstroy" and Installation Administration No. 1 of the "Tashgorsantekhgazmontazh" Trust went wrong. They are constantly failing to meet work schedules, and are holding back the delivery of the buildings for equipment installation. And the reasons are in the fact that the partners have not reached an agreement and in poor labor and performance discipline. This applies especially to the "Otdelstroy-2" Stroytrest and its manager M. Bugayev. Construction Administration No. 48 of this trust planned 422,000 rubles worth of finishing work, but in eight months only 232,000 rubles were used. In order to complete the work on time the "Otdelstroy-2" will have to obviously move additional labor resources to the project, and provide 150-160 finishing workers every day, as was decided at a meeting of the construction project's headquarters at the end of August with the participation of the Chief of Glavtashkentstroy T. Nabiiev. But M. Bugayev, for reasons known only to him, is not carrying out the main administration's order. Although in words he continues to give assurances that the plan will be fulfilled.

The construction project's headquarters has repeatedly tried to convince M. Bugayev, and we spoke to the leaders of the Main Administration T. Nabiiev and Ye. Kiriyenko, that there are no miracles in construction, and that if 232,000 rubles were used in eight months, and an additional 190,000 rubles worth of work has to be performed in the four remaining months, then only the mass shifting of people to the project will save the situation. But these arguments remain unattended to, and the equipment continues to await installation.

The collective of Construction Administration No. 2 of the "Tashtransspetsstroy" Trust is also in considerable debt to us. At a meeting of the headquarters the Administration's Chief L. Polyanskiy several times assured everybody that he would also manage the plan, but he has not yet begun work. This is the only reason why the work on the water and sewage systems cannot be completed.

Poor work is being done by Installation Administration-1 of the "Tashgorsantekhgazmontazh" Trust. In recent months the Administration has constantly been failing to meet its plumbing equipment installation schedules. During the recent rainy days, on account of the absence of rainfall runoffs,

many areas and installations, including the newspaper unit, fell under a downpour, and the plaster was ruined. It is even difficult to explain from the point of view of common sense why the plumbers were shifted to another project before the rain.

The construction workers can eliminate these defects if today they stop holding up the work on the installation of the equipment for the forms preparation shop. Without this, the printing department, of course, cannot operate, and a disproportion will take shape between the commissioning of the form, printing, and expediting equipment. And this is creating a threat to our plans--to run a test publication of newspapers by the offset method during the celebrations of the 65th anniversary of Great October. It is for this reason that it is essential today to direct all of the efforts of the construction workers toward the most rapid completion of their work. The publishing house for its part is taking every measure and frequently providing metal and construction materials from its own allocations. The machinery room is being completed with the help of specialists from the publishing house's construction group. Our workers are also working in the unit room doing finishing work. Our enterprise's electricians and mechanics are working together with the installation and construction workers, and are helping to speed up the construction and installation work. In other words, the client with all of his power and resources is helping to shorten the time of the project's preparation for operations. We shall continue to work hard with the construction workers in order to ensure the commissioning of the editorial building during the first half of 1983.

Why is rhythmic work at an important project being hindered with impunity by Construction Administration-28 of "Otdelstroy-1" of Glavtashkentstroy whose leaders Yu. Pinkhasov and I. Piskunov removed people from the project during bad weather and contributed to the fact that the upper stories were flooded by a downpour? And why, before the delivery of the project, did the collectives of the "Promventilyatsiya" and "Iashgorsantskhgazmontazh" Trusts sharply worsen their work when, it would seem, it was a matter of their professional pride and honor as workers to mobilize every possibility in order to speed up the work on the pre-start-up project whose cost was in the tens of millions of rubles? I think that to delay a return from such capital investments contradicts our party's policy. And the leaders of the subdivisions of the Glavtashkentstroy and the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work will make maximum efforts to get work going well at the construction which is being performed in accordance with a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and will organize two-shift work by the subordinate collectives so that within a month the conditions are created for the installation of equipment in the forms preparation shop and at other sectors of the future newspaper production.

The 3,000-strong collective of journalists and printers of the publishing enterprise of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan have a long-standing and fruitful collaboration with the construction workers of Tashkent. We have been building facilities for the publishing enterprise together for more than one year. And today we have the right to expect a collaboration

even more fruitful and effective--for it is a progressive newspaper production that is being created which is necessary not only for our republic, but for all of the republics of Central Asia. From Tashkent they will receive central newspapers and journals, and that is a particle of the fraternal relations which join our peoples which are on their way to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

2959

CSO: 1830/43

REGIONAL

UZSSR PRESIDIUM CHAIRMAN ON UZBEK DEVELOPMENT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, chairman of the presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Our union--the union of fraternal republics--is 60 years old. However, in this brief time period our country has succeeded in covering a path equal to centuries. This can be seen especially clearly in the example of the Central Asian republics whose peoples' path to happiness was opened by Great October.

The Uzbek people has become convinced from its own experience of what truly broad horizons for flourishing have been opened up for our republic in the single, closely united union of Soviet republics.

From the past, Uzbekistan inherited almost universal illiteracy, a dozen cottage workshops, and an appalling poverty. Bourgeois sociologists of the time were predicting that the Uzbek people would never recover from its age-old backwardness. But the party of communists, the power of the Soviets, and Lenin's nationalities policy have refuted the "prophecies."

In present-day Uzbekistan there are around 1,600 large enterprises and associations of almost 200 branches. The basis of the republic's economy is power engineering, metallurgy and machine building, chemistry, and electronics.

During the existence of the Uzbek SSR industrial production has increased by 216 times. Today 20 times more electric energy is being produced here than in all of prerevolutionary Russia. In two days the republic produces as much output as was produced by it in 1924.

Our republic is the USSR's chief cotton base, and it now provides around two-thirds of the all-union cotton harvest. Our farmers may be given credit for the fact that during the years which have passed since the formation of the Uzbek SSR the production of the "white gold" has increased by 30 times.

The yields of the republic's cotton occupy one of the first places in the world. In a year they provide no less than 6 million tons of raw cotton. And still we can and must increase the gross harvest of the "white gold." We have reserves for this: the opening up of the virgin lands of the Karshin, Dzhizak, and

Surkhan-Sherabad Steppes, a rise in the standard of farming, and a more effective use of equipment.

Uzbekistan's agriculture is multi-branch. Every year there are increases in the production and procurement of grain and vegetable and melon crops, fruit and grapes, cocoons and astrakhan, meat, milk, eggs, and other output, which is an important contribution to the realization of the Food Program, and improving the well-being of people. And this contribution will increase with each passing year.

Six decades as a member of the USSR has brought tremendous changes in the spiritual life of the republic. The vivid and original culture of our people has flourished in all of its diversity. Soviet power gave Uzbekistan the possibility of achieving a genuine cultural revolution in the briefest period of time.

It had to be begun with the alphabet, with the elimination of illiteracy. And today there are 43 VUZes and around 230 secondary specialized educational institutions in the republic, and our "school class" numbers 4 million pupils. For every 10,000 people in the population there are 172 students--substantially more than in many of the developed capitalist states. Fruitful work is being done by the republic's Academy of Sciences and by hundreds of scientific research institutes.

The liberation of Uzbek women who have thrown off the hated chadra and have become members of the new society with equal rights has been a great gain of socialism.

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signified a new stage in the development of the former national outlying districts. "History knows no state which has so rapidly done so much for the comprehensive development of nations and peoples as the USSR--the socialist fatherland of all of our peoples," it is stated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Their unity has been forged, and forged strongly, during the course of industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, and the struggle for the construction of socialism."

The peoples of the Soviet East have become convinced that solidarity within their unified union and fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance increase the possibilities of each nation one hundredfold and speed up social and economic development. Eastern wisdom says: The strength of a bird is in his wings, the strength of man is in friendship.

From the very first days Soviet Russia, itself at that time devastated and hungry, reached out a fraternal hand of help to Uzbekistan. Funds were allocated for the restoration of the irrigation systems in Turkestan. The workers and peasants of the country's central areas shipped their Uzbek brothers dozens of trainloads of seeds, grain, manufactured goods, and tools. Among the people they received the capacious and accurate name: Friendship Trains.

Trains arrived from Moscow, the cities of the Urals, and other industrial centers, supplying iron and steel, machine tools and equipment, and construction materials. The textile workers of Leningrad and Ivanovo adopted patronage over Uzbek grain farmers. It was in this way that in the distant 1930s the movement was born which received the name of "The Agreement of the Thousands." Friendship of Russian textile workers and Uzbek farmers has grown stronger and has been tempered.

New relationships of fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation are constantly being enriched in our common interests. Is it not a noteworthy fact that today Uzbek construction and land improvement workers are helping to open up the areas of the Nonchernozem Zone of the Russian Federation and are working on BAM, as once our Russian brothers helped us to open up the Golodnaya Steppe. Speaking at the ceremonies in Tashkent on the occasion of the presentation to the republic of its third Order of Lenin, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The contribution of present-day Uzbekistan to the economic and cultural life of our entire enormous country and to the development of the friendship of the Soviet peoples is very significant. The CPSU Central Committee places a high value, for example, on your active participation in the realization of the overall program for the development of the Nonchernozem'ye.

This, comrades, is a good example of internationalism in action."

Our daily relations with all of the other fraternal republics of the country are equally strong. It has already become an inalienable norm of our Soviet way of life to carry out any large job with our joint efforts. The workers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan worked hand in hand to build the great Fergana Canal and to develop the Bakhsh Valley. There are a large number of such examples.

There was an especially vivid demonstration of the mighty strength of the international fraternity of Soviet people during the days when they hurried to help Tashkent which had suffered from an earthquake in 1966. In truth, the entire country participated in its restoration. And now it has risen, as if from a fairy tale, a reborn and younger beautiful city with inimitable architectural ensembles, squares, and parks. And it will stand always as a magnificent monument which personifies our greatest riches--the Leninist friendship of peoples.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is beautiful and powerful. When you cast a gaze back over the road that has been covered you see clearly that our Leninist party of communists has been and continues to be the soul and the great force which cements the international fraternity of the Soviet peoples. In it, in its wise leadership is the guarantee of the might and prosperity of the Soviet state.

The role of the Soviets of People's Deputies has been great in all of the republic's successes. Uniting the efforts of the masses and directing them toward a single goal, the agencies of people's power, under the leadership of party

organizations, are performing an enormous amount of economic organizational and cultural and educational work. All of the diverse activities of the soviets promote the accomplishment of our chief task--the social and economic and cultural flourishing of our republic.

In appraising the future and mapping out new frontiers, the workers of Soviet Uzbekistan return again and again to the suggestions and instructions expressed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the ceremonies in Tashkent. They are increasing the efforts to carry out the tasks set by the 26th Party Congress and the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the plans and assignments of the 5-year plan.

Eloquent Facts

Every hour in Uzbekistan 10 families celebrate a housewarming. In the space of a year 92,700 apartments are being rented in the republic--this is around 5.8 million square meters of space.

In only one hour Uzbekistan's electric power stations now produce more than 4 million kilowatt-hours of energy. Meanwhile, during the whole of 1926 when this indicator was calculated for the first time, production came to 5.63 million kilowatt-hours. During the anniversary year the republic will produce 37.4 billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy.

Uzbekistan produces one-eighth of the world production of cotton fiber. This year the production of this output will come to 1.8 million tons.

Every year the irrigated area under cultivation increases by 100,000 hectares in Uzbekistan. Help is provided in bringing these lands into agricultural turnover by large mechanized complexes which consist of thousands of units of highly productive earth-digging, layout, and other equipment. Sixty years ago there were only 39 "Fordzon" tractors in the republic.

Today there are 4,000 Palaces and Houses of Culture in Uzbekistan in which more than 2,000 people are constantly engaged in the amateur arts. They are the participants in 9,200 amateur art collectives and 56 people's theaters.

In Uzbekistan, where only during the years of Soviet power was the first "Primer" published, there are now 281 newspapers published in the Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, Tatar, and other languages of the peoples of our country. In a year their total edition comes to 900 million copies.

2959
CSO: 1830/43

REGIONAL

'FALSE MULLAH' SILENCED IN UZBEKISTAN

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 17 May 82 p 4

[A feuilleton by correspondent F. Zohidov, "The 'Miracles' of the False Mullah"]

[Text] His name is Ota, his nickname Lokki. Added together they make Ota Lokki. Anyway, everyone in Khiva knows him.

You may wonder what makes Lokki special, since anyone can wander from the correct path. Indeed, that is true. But Ota Lokki never intended to follow the correct path. He trotted straight into a blind alley along the path of greediness.

One old man who knew him well says: "Ota Lokki didn't fool anyone in our village. He swaggered around like a mullah, but inside he was black as soot."

Ota was born and grew up in Gandimyan Village in Khiva. He completed secondary school but, not wanting to do honest work like others of his age, he looked around for an easy job. He became a carpenter's apprentice. He didn't like this work. One day while sleeping in the workshop he was awakened with a start by his own snoring. He spread a rumor concocted out of sheer fantasy: "This workshop used to be a hospice for wandering dervishes. Unknowingly my eyes went to sleep and I had an astonishing dream. A noble pir [dervish saint] wearing a white turban spit in my mouth and blessed me. Beginning today I am a mullah!"

Some fellow villagers worried "Ota Lokki has got some nervous disorder. We must take the sick man to a doctor." Some sneered "Look! The parasite has found his trick!" Others, who halfway believed in religious superstitions supposed "Most likely Satan has led him astray."

One thing led to another, and Ota Lokki became a different person. He was in no hurry to get back to work. He bought special soft boots at the bazaar and had someone sew for him a pale yellow robe and a shirt with embroidered edging. He wore a beard with two-and-a-half month's growth. He took on the clipped speech and the appearance of a sufi [dervish mystic]. He went around with old-style books tucked under his arms even though he didn't

know the [Arabic] alphabet. Here and there the fraud came across gullible people whom he ensnared in his traps and ruses, and although the false mullah's purse filled, he couldn't get enough: his greed grew. There is much to the proverb "A sufi eats one onion, unless he finds more--then he eats as many as there are."

Thus the days passed. The thought of getting wealth for nothing plunged the unscrupulous mullah into the sickness of moral sedition. He disliked his wife Zavar Matrasulova. No matter what she did, nothing pleased him. Poison spewed from his mouth everyday. He could turn the sweetest foods sour. And it wasn't just his abusive language. He also took to beating the guiltless woman unmercifully. Finally, Zavar, mother of four children and worn out from having her teeth fixed, was forced to get a divorce.

"Divorce saved me from that petty tyrant of a husband," the tormented woman said. "But it was hardest for my son who stayed with him. The wicked man dragged his young son into a life of wandering and taught him to drink. When I heard my son had been lured into stealing, my bloody tears fell all the more. The crooked path trod by his father led the unfortunate child to the dock. I grieve for my dear child!"

After his wife divorced him, Ota Lokki fell for a girl named Guljon Boltzyeva whose head he turned with his false promises and charms. He married the girl. But the old disease of his cowardly "lover" flared up again and he once more humiliated his family. Unable to bear the unjustified insults and abuse, Guljon renounced her dishonorable husband.

"I was unhappy because I believed in the deceitful promises of this loathsome fake wearing the mask of a mullah," said the unfortunate Guljon. "My tongue could tell of the vile and depraved things he did before my eyes, but my heart couldn't! Our home was a nest of heresy. My hatred for this fraudulent quack grew as I watched him take money and goods from women suffering from chronic nervous diseases which only became much worse."

The false mullah did a lot of hustling. I'll draw your attention to one episode.

After wandering around the country, Ota Lokki came to the city of Tashauz [in Turkmenistan]. The rumor began to spread that a miracle-working mullah, one who had the knack and could work wonders, had come. Madrahim Matyoqubov, a simple man not free of vestiges of the past, invited the mullah to his home. He wanted him to treat his wife Hojibibi Eshjonova, who suffered from dizzy spells. The insidious mullah "treated" the suffering woman for 40 days. Alas! His hocus-pocus was very expensive. It was as though he sang his incantations in fine chickens, white sheep, clothing, and money. The insolent quack also rubbed their faces in it. He corrupted the woman who sought deliverance from her suffering and seduced the man's legal spouse. After that she was disgraced in the eyes of the people. This ugly episode led to the breakup of the family. That's why they say nothing good comes from bad!

As if he hadn't sunk deep enough into the swamp of superstition, Ota Lokki aroused peoples' anger by dragging others down with him. The false mullah had followers near and far. He and his disciple Davlatali Jabborov traveled to Kungrad [in Karakalpakistan] for the purpose of restoring the cupola at the cemetery there. Later it became known that the cupola was fine, it was his purse that ailed. What would you say to these vagrants bumping each other in the dark, engaging in speculation, competing with each other in selling religious books?

The tracks of this hobo mullah led to Ellikkala where his path remained crooked. He and a disciple named Khudoybergan Nurmonov engaged in common corruption in the place of worship in the cemetery. His baseness and unscrupulousness knew no limits. The thing that pushed Ota Lokki into the abyss of infamy was not religious belief, but greed.

We have dwelt upon only a small part of the "miracles" worked by this false mullah. Crooked deeds get straightened out. The tricks of Ota Qodirov, a deceiver wearing the mask of a mullah, were revealed to the people. He suffered a punishment befitting his deeds.

The reason I have been moved to write about this fraud is that we sometimes encounter fakes like Ota Lokki. We must promptly hamstring and teach a lesson to such deceivers who spend their days as parasites making fools of gullible people and peddling ignorant superstitions.

It is clear to everyone that our constitution assures freedom of conscience to all citizens. But the right to abuse this freedom isn't granted to anyone. Waging a ruthless fight against sicknesses that are alien to our society and our Soviet way of life is an inseparable part of ideological indoctrination work and the duty of the entire community.

9439
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REGIONAL

UNOFFICIAL ISLAM BLASTED IN UZBEKISTAN

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 26 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by "a literary man"; "Frauds"]

[Text] I admit that I am not overly enthusiastic about writing this sketch. I have come to the conclusion that writing about these extraordinary events and the people who disgraced themselves through their participation in them is, perhaps, an obligation.

One of those to be mentioned in the sketch is a false healer who lives in the Fergana Valley, a fraud like the character in the pre-war comedy "Festival of Saint Yorgen." Do you remember that likable fraud (played by actor A. Ktorov in the moves) who "treated" the crippled and "delivered" them from their crutches and canes?

Our character is of the same type. The thing that epitomizes his professional poverty--to put it mildly--is that he "discovered" that one of his female clients had a second vertebrae which, in his opinion, was the cause of her illness...

Another character is a fraudulent mullah in Tashkent who opened "classes" for the study of religious books in his home!

No matter how bizarre it may sound, some parents in various places drug their children by the arm to aht mullah and were overjoyed when he accepted their children into his "classes." They supposed that when their sons became clerics like their "tutors", they would lead a pious and irreproachable life.

Are there really such people in the highly rational 20th century, in the age of the scientific and technological revolution, when the exact sciences and humanities have gained such enormous respect!? Isn't today a time when youths successfully pass extremely difficult competitions to reach the embrace of higher educational institutions and consider anyone without a scientific degree as out-of-step!? Man is harnessing atomic energy, living for several months in space, finding practical applications for research, working on the creation of synthetic protein--that is, of life itself--and preparing to divert a portion of the water of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan...

I think about these things, and I compare these glorious events of our day with these other almost medieval events, and I am relieved of my anxiety over the fate of this sketch. For, most thinking newspaper readers are on a level with our century and will correctly understand the events that have taken place, and, I trust, will think about how necessary it is to put a stop to such circumstances we know today.

Let's move right to the heart of the matter. Let's get acquainted with the participants in an unusual event that began on 5 June of this year in Tashkent's Oktyabr' Bazaar.

Police arrested a person named A. Saidqorikhojayev who was among the various people selling a variety of goods in the section of the bazaar where speculation is done.

He had been selling an anonymous booklet titled ISLOM DINI HAQIDA that urges people who wholly believe in religion to worship Allah and to not omit to make the five daily prayers, and that is infused with the spirit of their being ruthless toward the "godless."

Buyers of this politically harmful booklet were advised to behave in a way contrary to Article 52 of the USSR Constitution which stresses "incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited."

"Did you know this is prohibited?" Saidqorikhojayev was asked. "You'll be severely punished for this!"

"May God strike me, it's the first I heard of it," he swore.

Frightened, he admitted he had been buying these booklets at a cheap price and selling them at a higher one—that is, engaging in speculation.

Police arrested Saidqorikhojayev and sent all documents related to the case to the office of investigations of the Tashkent City Administration for Internal Affairs. During the investigation, the facts became better understood as more pieces of this fascinating puzzle turned up. It was learned that Saidqorikhojayev had bought these booklets from a person named Mahmudjon Roziyev who, in turn, had bought them from an individual named Abduzokir Rahimov who clandestinely printed books on a machine he built himself.

Rahimov, having first gotten a taste for the work by himself in the cellar of his house, later broadened his activities with a cohort named Yoldosh Muhamedov, and later still printed books in two more homes he rented by paying their owners generously. Rahimov also paid salaries to salespeople at the "Shuhrat" store who supplied him with paper for his publications, as well as to individuals like Z. Mahkamov who distributed the booklets to clients in his own Zhiguli automobile. He consoled some of them with money, and satisfied others with vodka.

So, what compelled Rahimov to put his hand to such work that is punishable by Article 179 of the UzSSR Criminal Code? What motivated his partner Roziyev who was buying and selling not only the brochure "On Islam" but tape cassettes of prayers to be played at the time of prayers and books like the Koran? For engaging in speculation and getting 11 other people to go along with him, he was foredoomed to punishment in accordance with Article 175 of the Code.

On top of that, both of them had been previously tried by these very same articles and had served time accordingly.

For this, let's turn to F.A. Danil'yan, the internal affairs investigator who investigated the case of Rahimov, Roziyev, and their group. Asked to familiarize us with the interrogation proceedings, he replied:

"You're mistaken if you think these are passionate fanatics who, out of religious belief, have been pushed into providing information to religious people with their publications. A true Muslim would never speculate in religious books, because it is contrary to his ethical convictions and to the Shariat [Islamic law]. The compendium of Islamic customary law also prohibits this. Their insatiable greed shows that Rahimov and his partners took up this work for the purpose of increasing their personal wealth by coaxing more money out of people!"

Because he had tested the punishing force of justice once before when his secret had been exposed, Rahimov was obviously gripped by anxiety and was heavily reliant on alcohol to dispel and worry from his mind. For example, fearing his secret would be exposed, he tried to throw future investigators off the track. He stamped "Isfara, 1976" in the booklets "On Islam" which he printed in 1981. By doing so, he wanted it to seem as though they were printed prior to the first time his vile speciality had gotten him arrested.

But Rahimov, like his partners, did not take into account a simple truth--namely, that no bad deed can end in good.

During the investigation, Muhamedov confessed that he and Rahimov had printed books of religious content throughout 1980 and up to July 1981, and spilled the beans on his partners. (His confession was completely confirmed by the printing machinery, various chemicals, and other materials found when the house of his brother Musayev was searched.)

A. N. Cherevatenko, mistress of the house where the press was located, and a nurse at the Tashkent Hospital for Contagious Diseases, also confessed to being seduced by the 130 rubles Rahimov offered her, to renting him one of the four rooms in her apartment in the Beshkayragach Complex and to helping him bring in the printing machinery.

A collection of facts that fill the heart with anger. Dozens of people involved in criminal acts in one way or another or trying to make money anyway possible; forgetting their pride, conscience, future; not thinking of how they would look in their children's eyes or of how they would possibly defend themselves when they were tried...The chain of deception and treachery ended in crime.

Anyone acquainted with the investigative and trial materials would gain a sense of complete satisfaction upon reading the sentences handed down to the criminals by the Tashkent City Kirov Rayon People's Court: Rahimov was sentenced to obligatory service for seven years in a strict regime colony, and Roziyev was sent to prison for four years. Nor were the other 11 members of this gang neglected.

We were extremely gratified that the specimens of ancient Eastern literature confiscated from them were handed over to the Institute of Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences where they will be of service and benefit perhaps for the first time since they were printed...

Just one thing: the size of the demand for publications of this kind is astounding.

P. Ghafforov, one of the heroes of the events related above, and a former senior engineer at the "Uzmedtekhnika" base, was not content with duplicating books on home-made equipment. He made contracts with workers of duplicating shops at a number of establishments and asked them for their "help."

With the help of the modern equipment at these establishments, and by using scarce paper, foil, ink, and electric energy, they produced (on work time!) thousands of copies of politically harmful books!

I will not dwell on why the shop foremen in these places greeted the "skilled craftsman" P. Ghafforov and his cohorts S. Boqikhojayev and S. Umarov with open arms. Their actions are being reviewed as separate and special criminal acts, and when the time comes will also be written about...

But another question makes one stop and think--why are these clandestinely printed books in such popular demand? What is there in these books other than the incitement to be ruthless toward people who do not believe in religion?

I tried to find the answer to this question while leafing through the booklet "On Islam"... The design of the booklet is simple, the illustrations on its inside cover are in one color... Passages from the poetry of great poets like Sadi, Bedil, Navoi, and from the works of Abu Ali ibn Sina, are inscribed on the inner leaves...

These passages were selected with such skill that they unconsciously arouse a desire in the person reading them to also read the religious texts in the book. Because they contain historical information about Islam: what

the Muslim's duties consist of, what is permitted by Muslim law, what is objectionable. They cite texts of prayers, verses of the Koran...

Only two pages of the booklet are printed in Arabic language and script, and the remaining 28 pages are in Uzbek language.

The compiler-author, to all appearances, had to be rather shrewd, Realizing that most of us don't know Arabic, he turned to Uzbek as an aid in learning the fundamental teachings of Islam.

The author was concerned to reach a broad circle of readers. And just how did he manage to do so? Because we know very little about Islam. As the children's song goes: "We didn't cover this, we weren't assigned this."

The truth is, we have not covered it. We are not made familiar with Islam in school or at the institute, or through the political instruction given in the production place (and not only there) after we've graduated.

In this way Islam has become a forbidden fruit. It appears that there has arisen a desire to taste its sweetness and, having done so, to "pursue" it...

Let's continue to consider the causes of peoples' interest in religious literature. There is no need to read surreptitiously printed booklets like "On Islam" in order to get detailed information about it.

In the last 10 years, the Muslim Religious Board [for Central Asia and Kazakhstan] has printed the Koran six times and is presently preparing a seventh printing. The Muslim Religious Board's library is open to all. There one can select and read the books one wants to, and become familiar with the periodicals printed for religious people.

Perhaps the interest in buying religious books not printed by the state is growing as a result of some people foolishly believing the utterly libelous tales being spread in the West about the supposed "ban" on religious literature among us.

One must further consider that modern Islam is radically different than it was before. Today, it urges religious people not to be afraid of their beliefs but, on the contrary, to be in accord with the age! Today, great religious leaders are recommending the study of space and urging Muslims in this field not to lag behind the West. Some of them have even proclaimed their own readiness to fly to the Moon. Because they evidently believe that by doing so they would be "even closer to Allah and farther from the earth which is plunged into sin."

Be that as it may, it would not be bad were thought given to considerably improving the work of the present Atheism Museum in Tashkent. Its exhibits could be amplified with materials relevant to the modern age and, with the help of skillfully written commentaries on the items in them, could tell about the tragic and, in some cases, bloody history of the struggle that

has continued across the centuries between light and darkness, between religious ignorance and scientific aspiration, and between idealism and materialism...

It appears likely that we have to review the quality of our ideological work and political instruction among various production collectives (and not only there), which consists of simple formulaic statements and lists of our accomplishments, while too little attention is being paid to complex problems waiting on the agenda in need of debate which can still be solved.

We must not forget that developed socialism is not a condition in which the struggle between old and new is dying out, in which ignorant doctrines and religious heresies are disappearing by themselves, in which a class approach to life's exigencies has become irrelevant!

In my opinion, more knowledgeable people who haven't forgotten this will not immediately reach in their pocket and whip out three rubles when they go to Tashkent's Oktyabr' Bazaar and hear the call "Buy the book 'On Islam'!" They will not contribute to the incomes of those who prepare, sell and speculate in the brochures, but will give a good dressing-down to the swindlers selling this "literature."

We also encounter the following kind of people among us: "Soviet employees" who know as well as the learned mullahs verses of the Koran, the five daily prayers, and prayers said at religious festivals, burials and other ceremonies. On top of that, they look disapprovingly at people who do not fast in conformity with religious customs or do not observe religious festivals, who do not silently speak the name of God before and after meals, and who do not make the sign of the fatiha [movement of the hand from lips to forehead] as they stand up. People of learning sneer at such people.

Are they really so petty and trivial? Surely they have some inner trait in the way of goodness, humanity, or hard work that would arouse respect? They do, but just barely.

But, most importantly, we must never forget that behind the observance of these rites and customs is hidden the incitement to zealously follow the laws of the Shariat and religious teachings and to become the sort of person who would absolutely never turn away from them...

A final thought. At a time when Islam was wide-spread, Abbas Alavulla-akhum, an official leader of Islam who had spent many years studying the Koran and its commentaries and who had obtained his religious knowledge by studying at four medressehs, wrote these lines: "I am ready to throw believers into chains, even to destroy them!"

When I read his article 20 years ago in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KARAKALPAKIYA [Russian "Soviet Karakalpakistan"], I was glad that Abbas Alavulla had served his ties with religion and thought that many people who believed in religion would surely also succeed in doing so.

No, they didn't succeed. Religion has still not let go its hold over people. As an example of this, I cite a passage from an article printed in the newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA "An old kolkhoz woman from Kolkhoz imeni Tel'man presented her 25-year old daughter to Muhammad Mahmudov, the 65-year old mullah of the 'Khodzha Uban' Mosque, supposedly so that he could save her from a paralytical disease... The girl became the fifth wife of the lecherous old man..."

I'll present another example for you to ponder. Aali Takambayev, People's Poet of the Kirgiz SSR and Hero of Socialist Labor, in an article printed in the newspaper KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in 1976, wrote the following in reference to another custom of Muslims--the kalym, or money paid for the bride:

"Today, a mask has been placed on the face of the kalym, its complexion has been changed, and in some places, moreover, the price is being fixed in secret. It is becoming customary to pay more to the parents for a daughter with higher education and a still higher sum for the daughter of a person with position and prestige. The growing size of the money being secretly paid for kalym is engendering a feeling of 'pride' in some girls. Evidently, the higher the kalym, the more powerful the bride's pride becomes."

It is lamentable that some highly educated comrades who wear the most modern suits on their backs and tie their neckties in the latest fashion wish to defend this by calling it a national tradition founded by our ancestors and carried on for centuries. In practice, such "traditions" are nothing else than masks to disguise self-interest...

Yes, there are those who hide behind a "ideological" screen and defend their desire to accumulate wealth as being in the name of God. The activities of the false mullah Saidkarim A"zamov can be taken as an example of this.

He opened religious studies "classes" in his home located in one of the mahallas [Muslim neighborhoods] of Tashkent. As soon as they heard this news, various teenagers led by their fathers began to flutter around in front of his gate. They had brought their children by force to this clandestine "school" to study religious beliefs.

They were taken out of their classes in Soviet schools and given daily instruction here in a manner that is contrary to the laws accepted in our country concerning public education and the separation of schools from churches [Russian tserkov].

Although the middle-aged A"zamov understood he would answer for his actions one day, he got carried away by his desire to accumulate wealth. He continued poisoning the minds of young children with the poison of religion, and tried to get them to believe in the existence of an afterlife and the delights of Paradise.

He was quick to accept, without the least sign of squeamishness, the gifts brought to him by his pupils' parents. Several cows and 40 head of sheep

were penned in his courtyard. The mullah bought six lavish homes with courtyards. But, fearing his crooked deeds would be exposed, he had them officially registered under the names of relatives.

Today, A"zamov's property has been confiscated. I believe he is "washing away his sins" far away from our sunny region.

This is an opportune place to express our concern over the fate of Habibullo who helped the holy fathers in every dield when he began to make "easy" money by speculating in religious books and tape cassettes containing prayers and passages of the Koran. Did Habibullo really understand that accumulation of wealth in an improper fashion is nothing more than a mirage? Did A"zamov's pupils actually realize in the end that clandestine instruction is extremely harmful? Did those youths who became victims of the fraud by blindly doing what their elders told them to rea-ly grasp the consequences of their actions?

These questions are not being idly posed. The illegal "activities" of the false healer Davron Boronov will confirm this. It is difficult today to be definite about who, when, and how this "healer" treated. But it is clear that a single successful cure made his name widely known and boosted his reputation. With the help of this success, Boronov got the title "miracle-worker" and was praised to the skies by sick people who believed in and even began to worship him. No one was interested in whether Boronov had any right to practice medicine, nor in what the "miracle" he had performed consisted of. In fact, they must have known that he was a fraud without even a secondary medical education. At one time, Boronov had stolen 3,000 rubles from the state when he worked as brigade chief on Sovkhoz-17 in Syrdarya Oblast. He went to Sovkhoz-18 where he also engaged in theft and then tried to hide out in Fergana.

He was found and tried. Bornov escaped from jail, but was caught again. After serving his time, he began to spread a rumor about himself with the goal in mind of stuffing his empty pockets through "healing." People who were blind or suffered from eye and other diseases came to the fraud from Andizhan, Namangan, and Osh Oblasts, rather than turn to state clinics and hospitals. People seeking treatment would live for a time in his home. Women and girls became Boronov's servants. A 20-year old nurse from Khodzhaabad Rayon named E"tibor M. lived in Bornov's home for half a year! A girl named Oghiloy N., an 18-year old student in the 10th grade, was "treated" by his hands for five months. At the time of his arrest, the names of more than 100 men and women were found in the "doctor's" account book.

Boronov was a lecherous individual who had been married three times. He had taken his third wife away from a Namangan patient. He would ogle the young girls and women. By "massaging" them in a virtually naked state, "he could help them to get better." His patients might have understood what he was doing and could have told their parents and disgraced themselves. Had they done so, the rat's home would have been turned into a thousand splinters! No, they didn't do that. On the contrary, they went

along without a murmur to "serve" either in his own home or in the places he rented. The fraud "doctor" engaged in his "medical practice" until workers of the appropriate organs became interested in his case.

Here, there is no need to dwell upon the question of how the parents of these patients could have let them fall into this situation. I can imagine their suffering, and I extend my sympathy. But, in a sense, they themselves were the cause of the events that occurred. Because these parents did not teach their daughters how to critically examine the negative phenomena they would encounter in life. They violated their human rights by educating them in a spirit of blind submission to their environment.

Possibly they would be consoled had Boronov received a punishment befitting what he had done. But, there is little consolation. Because the evil man was punished without the participation of these whom he had tormented.

At this point, it would be appropriate to recall an ancient proverb: "When God wants to punish someone, He first takes away his mind."

Of course religious people are still encountered. We must take substantial and unified action to educate them. We must organize a broad-scale offensive that utilizes all available means against these sicknesses.

9439

CSO: 1836/102

REGIONAL

IMPROVEMENT CALLED FOR IN WORK OF LITHUANIAN ZAGS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Unsigned Article: "Improve the Implementation of the Statutes in the Code on Marriage and Family"]

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet examined the activities of ZAG [register office] organs in the implementation of the statutes of the LiSSR Code on Marriage and Family.

At the session it was noted that the register office organs are more closely cooperating in their daily activities with institutions of culture, public education, organizations for personal services and trade, and are trying to inculcate traditions appropriate to a socialist way of life. They are based more upon local soviets of people deputies, their executive committees, and permanent commissions. In addition they maintain contacts with womens' councils and other public and amateur organizations and active groups.

The registration of events at the register offices is accompanied by meaningful ceremonies. There is a stricter observation of the legally set deadlines for the registration of births and deaths, there are fewer registration errors, and there has been a reduction in the number of petitions and letters in which citizens reveal shortcomings in the work of register office institutions.

Concurrently, the Presidium noted shortcomings in the implementation of requirements of the LiSSR Code on Marriage and Family, and in the inculcation of soviet traditions. There are still cases of failure to observe deadlines for the registration of births and deaths, and there is lagging in the examination of citizens' complaints and petitions. There are mistakes and inaccuracies in the compilation of documents and in accounting for state fees. Stores in many regions do not have the goods necessary for conducting state ceremonies. There is still not a unified organization involved in the problems of name giving (imyanarecheniye), engagement, and burial which could give the public the necessary assistance. Trade and personal service institutions are still not implementing instructions from the republic's government.

Soviets of people deputies in many rayons and cities and their executive committees are not giving sufficient attention to the work of register office organs, rarely hear their reports, and do not always give the necessary

attention to their material base and cadre. In the organization of civil ceremonies the potentials of institutions of culture, public education, and libraries are still not completely utilized.

The LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a decree which obligates the LiSSR Ministry of Justice to in the future assist in the intensive implementation of the LiSSR Code on Marriage and Family, in particular the part concerning registration, to be constantly concerned about improving the activity of register office organs, improve the legal qualifications of workers at these organs, and more completely provide the population with legal information. Together with the LiSSR Ministry of Culture, the Republic council for the development of national traditions, other departments, local soviets of peoples' deputies and their executive committees, the Ministry of Justice is obligated to more purposefully coordinate activities involving services to participants of civil ceremonies, and to introduce new work forms.

Rayon and city soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees are instructed to devote constant attention to improving the activities of register offices, to intensify control over their work, and to solve problems of material and technical supply. This activity should also involve institutions of culture, public education, councils for the development of national traditions, other public and amateur organizations. It should intensify the emotional conviction and ideological effect of civil ceremonies in order that each family ceremony or any event will assist the education in a sense of civil responsibility to the state and society, and improve the level of family relationships.

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CSO: 1800/389

REGIONAL

TWO SENTENCED TO DEATH FOR WARTIME ACTIVITIES

AU021501 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian on 20 November carries on pages 3-4 a 3,000-word "Court Sketch" by M. Kostyk, chairman of the Ternopol Oblast Court, and by B. Sinkervych, RADYANSKA UKRAINA correspondent, entitled "The Murderers," describing at length the trial of Yu Sotskyy and Ya. Ostrovskiy, who were before the Ternopol Oblast Court, both accused of "particularly grave crimes against the state." The trial was held in the Ternopol House of War and Labor Veterans. No date of the trial is given.

While introducing the case, the authors--apparently on behalf of all Soviet people--state that "we are prepared to beat swords into plowshares. But one sword we will always keep unsheathed: the sword of justice, which ignores statutes of limitations with regard to those who, during the war, committed particularly grave crimes against our state, our people, against humanity." According to the "sketch," Yu. Sotskyy "early in 1946, was sentenced to long imprisonment" for his service in the "Ukrainian police" organized by the German Nazis in his native Vyshnivets, and Ya. Ostrovskyy, tried in July 1945, "pleaded guilty" of, and then served his sentence for, belonging to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). But both of them had managed to "conceal the particularly bloody facts in their biographies." And only later the "functionaries of the Ternopol Oblast Administration of the State Security Committee obtained new data about Ostrovskyy and Sotskyy's participation in the shooting and torturing of Soviet citizens in the period of the fascist occupation. The facts were painstakingly investigated. As a result of this, the previous sentences were canceled. Sotskyy and Ostrovskyy were found and rearrested." In particular, Sotskyy was located in Abakan, Krasnoyarsk Kray, where "he was known as a good specialist" at a footwear factory from which he "retired 3 years ago." The authors give a detailed account of the "bloody crimes" committed by the defendants and attested to by the witnesses brought to the trial.

Ending the "sketch," the authors say: "There can be no pardon for those who, at the bitter hour, betrayed the fatherland, who volunteered their services to the Hitlerites and their lackeys--Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, who personally participated in the arrest and torture of Soviet patriots, in the shooting of the peaceful population....

"There is only one way to settle accounts with the beasts: death to them!

"This was the just sentence passed by the board for criminal cases of the Ternopol Oblast Court, chaired by B. A. Korolyuk, deputy chairman of the oblast court, which examined this case."

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